Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America

Part IV.2: The Morgan Library and Museum

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This article describes and analyzes the second half of the twenty-four Greek and Coptic/Greek manuscripts in the collection of the Morgan Library and Museum. Together with the first half of this article, this

* This article is the second part of the fourth installment of my "Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America." The first three installments were published as "Catalogue … Part I: Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library," *Manuscripta* 49 (2005): 165–245; "Catalogue … Part II: The New York Public Library," *Manuscripta* 50 (2006): 21–76; and "Catalogue … Part III: Miscellaneous Small Collections of New York City," *Manuscripta* 51 (2007): 61–130. The first part of the fourth installment was published as "Catalogue … Part IV.1: The Morgan Library and Museum," *Manuscripta* 52 (2008): 64–174. Further parts will follow. A general introduction to the catalogue and a description of the form of entry are given in the first part. The Morgan Library and Museum's website <www.morganlibrary.org> provides comprehensive information about the library's founder, history, collections, and buildings. On the same website one can find scanned internal files for each manuscript and digital color images of selected folios from several of the library's Greek manuscripts.

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catalogue constitutes the first thorough survey of the Morgan's Greek manuscripts. In this introduction I will highlight some of the most important findings among these manuscripts.

The famous Morgan Dioscorides (M.652) has been studied by many scholars, mostly art historians and botanists, but insufficiently by paleographers. As a result of my investigation, I have established that four scribes collaborated in the execution of this manuscript. Their writing style is categorized as a transitional script from the ancient oblong minuscule to the minuscule bouletée, and a more precise date is proposed for this codex—the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. In addition, my description of M.652 provides a comprehensive and up-to-date list of contents and codicological data, identifies lacunae, and summarizes findings by other scholars on the binding and the post-Byzantine history of the manuscript. A multifaceted study of this fascinating codex leads me to the following conclusion: the Morgan Dioscorides was probably executed, not for a private library or for the collection of an emperor or some other wealthy person as was previously thought, but for a hospital or physicians' (or physician's) workplace, where it was extensively used by Byzantine and later Turkish medical practitioners.

Morgan M.655 is one of the earliest minuscule manuscripts of John Chrysostom's Homilies, and its script is classified here as ancient rounded minuscule, which was employed in the last quarter of the ninth century. Although the manuscript is incomplete and has many lacunae (identified for the first time in this catalogue), the early date of the manuscript signifies that it is an important link in the textual transmission of Chrysostom's works. Additionally, a non-scribal ownership note provides evidence that at some time the manuscript was in Daphnousia, a bishopric in Bithynia in Asia Minor.

A richly illuminated lectionary with each folio written in the shape of a cross (M.692) is one of only four known

cruciform manuscripts. The Morgan Lectionary has been well-studied by art historians, and Jeffrey Anderson has published a special monograph on this codex.[1] Anderson attributes M.692 to the second quarter of the twelfth century, but some art historians have questioned his attribution. Paleographic analysis demonstrates that this remarkable cruciform lectionary was most likely executed in the last quarter of the eleventh century.

Morgan M.714 is a forty-six-folio fragment of the New Testament and has been variously attributed to the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. I have identified several documents executed in the imperial chancery of Alexios I Komnenos, dated by their scribes within the first quarter of the twelfth century and copied in the same distinctive writing style as that of M.714. This allows us to assign the production of M.714 to the first quarter of the twelfth century, since this style is not found in manuscripts executed before or after this period.

Finally, one of the most interesting and unusual findings of my career as a paleographer concerns the so-called "Kerasous Gospels," (M.748).[2] This manuscript was copied in traditional *Perlschrift* minuscule and displays abundant and eclectic decoration. Most scholars have attributed M.748 to the eleventh century because a non-scribal mar-

1. Jeffrey C. Anderson, The New York Cruciform Lectionary (University Park, Pa., 1992).

2. First referred to under this byname by Carl Nordenfalk, alluding to its sometime ownership by the orthodox church at Keiroussis (Kerasous, Kertsas) on the south coast of the Black Sea; see Carl Nordenfalk, "The Apostolic Canon-Tables," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 62 (1963): 17–34, reprinted in Carl Nordenfalk, *Studies in the History of Book Illumination* (London, 1992), 30–40. The byname was then taken up by Wilma Fitzgerald in *Ocelli Nominum: Names and Shelf Marks of Famous/Familiar Manuscripts* (Toronto, 1992), 74, listed as Keiroussis (Kerasous) Gospels. I have adopted the "Kerasous" spelling, which represents a more precise transliteration.

ginal note describes a solar eclipse of 1086, presumably the *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript. But I have discovered, deciphered, and translated a scribal note about a solar eclipse of 1133 that argues for M.748's execution in this year. Art historians have also hypothesized that M.748 was produced either in southern Italy or in the Trebizond region of Asia Minor. However, upon examining maps tracing the "paths of totality" of the two solar eclipses noted in M.748, I discovered that neither eclipse was visible in the Trebizond region, nor was the 1133 eclipse visible in Italy. Both eclipses could be observed from central Greek Macedonia, including Thessaloniki (the major Byzantine urban center) and Mount Athos (the major Byzantine monastic center), so I have concluded that M.748 was executed in one of these locations.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate my gratitude to the Dumbarton Oaks program in Byzantine Studies of in Washington, D.C. My four-month fellowship in residence in 2007 helped me in many important ways during the preparation of the catalogue entries presented here. And I am pleased to thank Dumbarton Oaks for a research grant, the Bibliographical Society of America for a fellowship, and the American Philosophical Society for a grant that funded numerous research trips to the Morgan Library, as well as microfilms, reproductions, and photocopies. I am also very grateful for a year-long fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The NEH fellowship helped me to complete this article and to pay for the photographs that supplement the text. Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect those of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

For many different kinds of help, I wish to thank Alice-Mary Talbot, John Duffy, Annaclara Cataldi Palau, Consuelo Dutschke, Mark Sosower, Irmgard Hutter, Nancy Ševčenko, Alessia Aletta, Sylvie Merian, Daniele Arnesano, Charalambos Dendrinos, Maria Litina, Stratis Papaioannou, Ir-

fan Shahid, Jocelyn Sharlet, Baki Tezcan, and my husband, Erik Hoffmann. Also, I am grateful to the helpful staff of the Morgan Library and Museum, especially William Voelkle, Roger Wieck, Inge Dupont, and Maria Molestina. I take full responsibility for the contents of this catalogue and invite readers to inform me of any omissions or inaccuracies (nkavrush@nycap.rr.com).

Glenmont, New York

THE MORGAN LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

MS M.652

Dioscorides Pedanius of Anazarbos, *De materia medica*
Pseudo-Dioscorides, *De venenis eorumque praecautione et medicatione* (= Alexipharmaka); *De iis, quae virus ejaculantur, animalibus libellus, in quo et de rabioso cane* (= *Theriaca*)
Anonymous, *De antidotis*
Anonymous, *Carmen de viribus herbarum*
Eutecnius, *Paraphrasis in Nicandri Theriaca*; *Paraphrasis in Nicandri Alexipharmaca*; *Paraphrasis in Oppiani Halieutica*
Constantinople, s.ix^{ex}–s.x^{in}

CONTENTS

Fol. 1r: originally blank; filled with modern pencil notes made by several librarians.

1. fols. 1v–305v: **Dioscorides Pedanius of Anazarbos**, *De materia medica,* beginning missing. No title. A full-page miniature and subtitle (fol. 1v): Μελισσόφυλλον (Wellmann, bk. 3, chp. 104, sec. 1, ln. 1). Inc. mut. (fol. 2r): //καὶ κοιλίαν καὶ ἔμμηνα κινεῖ καὶ οἰδήματα καταπλασθεῖσα πραῦνει … ; Expl. (fol. 305v): … πλήθους ὕλης τε καὶ βοηθημάτων ταμιεύσασθαι, ἅλις ἔχει. (Wellmann, bk. 3, chp. 152, sec. 2, ln. 5—bk. 5, chp. 162, sec. 2, ln. 6).

   Lacunae between fols. 1v and 2r, 58v and 59r, 64v and 65r, 88v and 89r, 90v and 91r, 134v and 135r, 146v and 147r, 148v and 149r, 157v and 158r, 166v and 167r, 182v and 183r,

200v and 201r, 203v and 204r, 205v and 206r, 212v and 213r, 213v and 214r, 214v and 215r, 215v and 216r.

Max Wellmann, ed., *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri quinque*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1907–14; repr. 1958).[3]

2. fols. 306r–319v: **Pseudo-Dioscorides**, *De venenis eorumque praecautione et medicatione* (= *Alexipharmaka*). Title (fol. 306r): Διοσκορίδου περὶ τῆς τῶν ὠφελεῖν ἢ βλάπτει(ν) δυναμένων φαρμάκων ἐνεργείας. Βιβλίον ς'. List of chapter titles (fol. 306r): Α' (Περὶ κανθαρίδων) through ΛΔ' (Περὶ ψυχροῦ ὕδατος ἢ ἀκράτου οἴνου). Inc. (fol. 306v): Τοῖς οὖν κανθαρίδας προσενεγκαμένοις … ; Expl. (fol. 319v): … ἀκριβέστατα ἀναγεγράφθαι παρῃτησάμην ἀναγράφειν ἐνταῦθα (sec. 1, ln. 1–sec. 34, lns. 13–14).

Lacuna between fols. 306v and 307r.

Kurt Sprengel, ed., *Pedanii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque …* , 2 vols., Medicorum graecorum opera quae exstant, 26.2 (Leipzig, 1830), 2:1–41.

3. fols. 319v–330v: **Pseudo-Dioscorides**, *De iis, quae virus ejaculantur, animalibus libellus, in quo et de rabioso cane* (= *Theriaca*). This text is divided in the manuscript into two parts, each with its own title and list of chapter titles:

3. The text of M.652 differs somewhat from the version published by Max Wellmann. A detailed analysis of M.652's contents was made by Samuel Ives and can be found in the internal library file at the Library's website: www.morganlibrary.com.

3a. (fols. 319v–327v): Title (fol. 319v): Διοσκορίδου περὶ ἰοβόλων. Βιβλίον Ζ'. List of chapter titles (fol. 319v): 214 Α' (Περὶ λυσσοδήκτων) through Κ' (Περὶ κοινῆς τῶν ἰοβόλων). Inc. (fol. 320r): (Τ)ὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰοβόλων ζώων καὶ θανασίμων φαρμάκων λόγον προτιθέμεθα … ; Expl. (fol. 327v): … τὰ δὲ ἴδια πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἰοβόλων ἑξῆς ἴδωμε(ν) (Sprengel, sec. 1, ln. 1–sec. 19, ln. 97).

3b. (fols. 328r–330v): Title, repeated twice (fol. 328r): Θεραπεία τῶν ὑπὸ ἰοβόλων δεδηγμένων. List of chapter titles (fol. 328r): Α' (Περὶ σφικῶν (sic) καὶ μελισσῶν) through ΙΔ' (Περὶ βασιλίσκου). Inc. (fol. 328r): Ἐν τῇ σημειώσει περὶ σφικῶν (sic) καὶ μελισσῶν οὐδένα διορίσαμεν … ; Expl. (fol. 330v): … ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς μήκωνος ὀπός. Τοιοῦτος μὲν καὶ ὁ θηριακὸς τρόπος (Sprengel, sec. 20, ln. 1–sec. 35, lns. 4–5).

Lacunae between fols. 323v and 324r, 327v and 328r, 330v and 331r.

Pedanii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque … , 2:42–91.

4. fols. 331r–333v: **Anonymous**, *De antidotis*. Title (fol. 331r): Ἀντίδοτος Μιθριδάτιος (sic). Inc. (fol. 331r): Πρὸς πάντα θανάσιμα καὶ θηρία … ; Expl. (fol. 333v): … ζιγγίβερ: γο. α'//.

Lacuna between fols. 333v and 334r.

Not published.[4]

4. This text is similar to, but not identical with, Galen, *De antidotis libri II,* in Karl G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, 20 vols. (Leipzig, 1821–33; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), 14:165. According to Ives, the identical trea-

5. fols. 334r–338r: **Anonymous**, *Carmen de viribus herbarum*. Title (fol. 334r): Χαμαίμηλον. Inc. (fol. 334r): Τοὺς δὲ πυρέσσοντας τὸ χαμαίμηλον θεραπεύει … ; Expl. (fol. 338r): … εἰς οἰκίαν βάλης ἀψιμαχία ἔσται.

I. Silling, ed., *Carmen de herbis* (Leipzig, 1832); E. Heitsch, "Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit," *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse,* s. III, 58 (1964): 23–38.

6. fols. 338r–355v, 377r–384v, 356r–361r: **Eutecnius**, *Paraphrasis in Nicandri Theriaca*. Title (fol. 338r): Ἡ ὑπόθεσις. Inc. (fol. 338r): Νίκανδρος ὁ ποιητὴς ἔγραψεν ποιήματα δύο … ; Expl. (fol. 360v): … μὴ χεῖρον ἔχοντα δεῦρο νομισθείη ποτέ, ὦ Ἑρμησιάναξ.

Lacuna between fols. 338v and 339r.

I. Gualandri, ed., *Eutecnii paraphrasis in Nicandri theriaca* (Milan, 1968), 21–70.

7. fols. 360v–375r: **Eutecnius**, *Paraphrasis in Nicandri Alexipharmaca*. Title (fol. 360v): Παράφρασις Εὐτεκνίου Σοφιστοῦ ἐκ τῶν Νικάνδρου Θηριακῶν. Τῶν Νικάνδρου ἀντιφαρμάκων τάδε ἔνεστιν. List of chapters (fol. 360v–361r)**:** Περὶ ἀκονίτου through Περὶ γάλακτος. Subtitle (fol. 361r): Ἀλεξιφάρμακα**.** Inc. (fol. 361r): Εἰ καὶ μὴ τῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι πόλεως … ; Expl. (fol. 375r): … καθήκοι διὰ παντὸς θεσμούς τε καὶ νόμους.

Lacuna between fols. 371v and 372r.

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tise is found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. gr. 66, and a similar text is found in Vat. gr. 284 (internal library file).

M. Geymonat, ed., *Eutecnii paraphrasis in Nicandri Alexipharmaca* (Milan, 1976), 25–58.

8. fols. 375r–376v: **Eutecnius**, *Paraphrasis in Oppiani Halieutica.* Title (fol. 375r): Παράφρασις εἰς τὰ Νικάνδρου Ἀλεξιφάρμακα Εὐτεκνίου Σοφιστοῦ. Inc. (fol. 375r): Τοῦ λίνου πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξέλκονται ἀγρευθέντες. … ; Expl. mut. (fol. 376v): … αἱ κίχλαι θαρροῦσιν ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν παστάδων αἱ γυ//<ναῖκες> (Papathomopoulos, bk. 3, sec. 1, ln. 1–bk. 4, sec. 7, ln. 6).

   Lacunae between fols. 375v and 376r; 376v and 377r.

   M. Papathomopoulos, ed., *Ἀνωνύμου παράφρασις εἰς τὰ Ὀππιανοῦ Ἁλιευτικά* (Joannina, 1976), 1–29.

[Fols. 377r–384v: see no. 6.]

9. fols. 385r–v: Table of contents, beginning is missing. No title. Inc. (fol. 385r): Πε(ρὶ) νεκταρίτου; Expl. (fol. 385v): Πε(ρὶ) μέλανος οὗ γράφωμεν.

   Not published.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 385; 395/399 x 280/302 mm. (one col.; written surface 293/300 x 200/204 mm.). Written in 30 lines, interlinear space 9–11 mm. (scribes I and II) and 8.5–10 mm. (scribes III and IV). Ruling pattern: Leroy 20C1 (scribes I and II) and C 20C1a (scribes III and IV). Quires were ruled according to the system Leroy 1 in sharp dry point that made deep impressions. Pricking is in margins, medium-sized slits and triangles. Script is positioned across the ruled line and is sometimes suspended from the lines. Fifty-five quires; collation: 1^{8} (-7 folios; not possible to establish which ones) $2–3^{8}$ 4^{8} (+2) $5–8^{8}$ 9^{8} (-1, 8, with loss of text) $10–12^{8}$ 13^{8} (-1, 4, 5, 6, with loss of text) $14–18^{8}$ 19^{8} (-3, with loss of text)

20^8 (-8, with loss of text) 21^8 (-3, 4, 5, with loss of text) 22^8 (-7, with loss of text) 23^8 24^8 (-1, 2, with loss of text) 25^8 26^8 (-3, 6, with loss of text) 27^8 28^8 (-6, 7, with loss of text) 29^8 (-4, 6, with loss of text) 30^8 (-7, 8, with loss of text) 31^8 (-2, 4, 6, with loss of text) $32–33^8$ 34^8 (+9) 35^8 (-2, 4, with loss of text) $36–37^8$ 38^8 (-1, 7, 8, with loss of text) $39–40^8$ 41^8 (-6, with loss of text) 42^8 43^8 (-7, with loss of text) $44–45^8$ 46^8 (-1, 6, 7, 8, with loss of text) 47^8 (-4, 5, with loss of text) 48^8 (-2, 7, with loss of text) $49–52^8$ 53^8 (-1, 6, 8, with loss of text) 54^8 55^8 (-2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, with loss of text).[5] All but one of the original quire signatures were cropped during binding; only signature N remains in the upper right corner of the first folio of the quire on fol. 328r. Non-scribal signatures (E'–Nς') are in the middle of the bottom margin of the first folio of each quire. The second non-scribal set (E'–ΛA') is in the lower right corner of the last folio of quires 1–27. The first signature E' on fol. 2r indicates that the manuscript lost its first four quires. In addition, several quires are missing at the end of the manuscript. Parchment is of good but not excellent quality, thin and medium thick, ivory-white (flesh side) and yellowish (hair side), with some scalloping and occasional traces of hair follicles.

SCRIPT

Four scribes executed M.652: I, fols. 1r–18v and 20r–27v; II, fols. 28r–43r; III, fols. 19r–v and 43v–333v; IV, fols. 334r–385v. Ink is medium brown (scribes I and II), light to medium brown (scribe III), and chestnut brown (scribe IV). Major titles were executed in hollow majuscules, and minor titles in Alexandrian majuscules. The four handwritings are very similar and represent the same writing style: a transitional script from *minuscola antica oblunga* of the second half of the ninth century to the minuscule boule-

5. Quire 53 (fols. 377–384) was misplaced during binding; it should be placed between quires 49 and 50 (see CONTENTS, no. 8).

tée of the first half of the tenth century.[6] The similarity of M.652's scripts to the manuscripts written in *minuscola antica oblunga* was noticed by Belle da Costa Green and Kirsopp Lake, whose unpublished personal correspondence is in M.652's internal file. Lake linked M.652 to two codices in Moscow written in this script: Moscow, State Historical Museum, MSS Vladimir 117 (Synod. 254) and Vladimir 184 (Synod. 145). Both Moscow codices are dated: Vlad. 117 was copied by the monk Athanasios of the Stoudios Monastery in 880; Vlad. 184 by an abbot Athanasios in 899.[7] Therefore Lake attributed M.652 to the last quarter of the ninth century. Some similarities to *minuscola antica oblunga* notwithstanding, M.652's scripts display many features not found in this script and represent a new stage in Byzantine calligraphy: the development of the minuscule *bouletée*. For example, the first scribe (fig. 1) forms large, upright, and rounded letters, which are somewhat similar to those in the canonic *bouletée* of codices such as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS gr. 70 and gr. 139. But the elongated upper and lower strokes of most letters and the archaic forms of majuscule zeta and xi (fig.1, lines 6 and 10 from the bottom) are signs of a still undeveloped *bouletée* in its earliest stages. The closest parallel to the script of the first

6. On these writing styles, see Enrica Follieri, "La minuscola libraria dei secoli IX e X," in *PGB*, 139–65 at 144 and 147; Jean Irigoin, "Une écriture du Xe siècle: La Minuscule bouletée," in *PGB,* 191–99; and Maria Luisa Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée,"* 2 vols., Littera antiqua, 9 (Vatican City, 1992).

7. On the Moscow codices, see Boris L. Fonkič, "Scriptoria bizantini: Risultati e prospettive della ricerca," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 17–19 (1980–82): 73–118 at 85 and 87f.; N.F. Kavrus, "Studiiskii scriptorii v IX v. (po materialam rukopisei Moskvy I Leningrada)," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 44 (1983): 98–111 at 102f., 106f. and pls. 4, 6. In the latter article my detailed paleographic and codicological analysis confirmed that the scribes of the two Moscow codices were not identical and that Vlad. 184 was not executed in the Stoudios Monastery (contrary to a generally accepted, but never confirmed hypothesis).

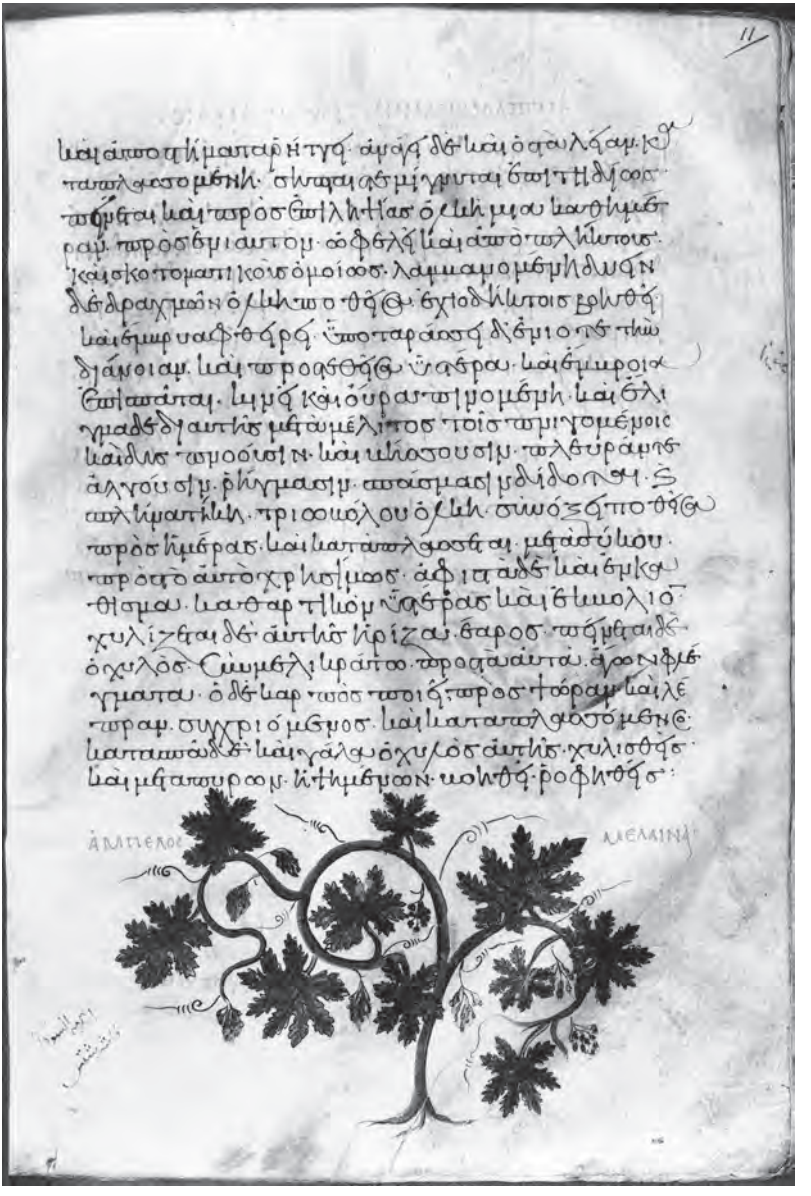

Figure 1.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.652, fol. 11r.
Gift; J.P. Morgan (1867–1943); 1920.
(By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
Photographic credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

scribe is the handwriting of Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.524.[8] The other three scribes present smaller
220 vertical scripts, which are more angular than the script of the first scribe. The second and third scribes (figs. 2 and 3) elongated the upper and lower strokes, and their scripts are similar to that of St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS gr. 53.[9] The script of the fourth scribe (fig. 4) has a slight inclination to the left and most letters have reduced upper and lower strokes. This script is similar to the early *bouletée* of manuscripts such as St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS gr. 220, and Moscow, State Historical Museum, MS Vladimir 159 (Synod. 128).[10]

None of the above-mentioned *bouletée* manuscripts is dated. They have been attributed by scholars to the first

8. On MS W.524, see Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Tenth-Century Greek Gospels at the Walters Art Museum: Writing Styles and Ornamental Motifs," *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 62 (2004): 21–34 (with expanded bibliography on bouletée scripts).

9. On St. Petersburg gr. 53, see William H.P. Hatch, *Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), pl. 4; Vera D. Likhachova, *Vizantiiskaia Miniatiura: Pamiatniki vizantiiskoi miniatiury IX–XV vekov v sobraniiakh Sovetskogo Soiuza=Byzantine Miniature: Masterpieces of Byzantine Miniature of IXth–XVth Centuries in Soviet Collections* (Moscow, 1977), pls. 3 and 4; Agati, 1:102. The similarity between M.652's scripts and that of St. Petersburg gr. 53 has been previously noted by the present author: N.F. Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Rukopis' Dioskorida Biblioteki Pierpont Morgan M 652 (Niu-Iork): Kodikologicheskoe i paleograficheskoe opisanie," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 56 (1995): 185–90 at 189; and by Alessia Aletta, "Per una puntualizzazione cronologica del Morgan 652 (Dioscoride)," in *Praktika tou 6' Diethnous Symposiou Ellenikes Palaiographias (Drama, 21–27 Septembriou 2003*), ed Basiles Atsalos and Nike Tsirone, 3 vols. (Athens, 2008), 2:771–87, forthcoming. I thank Alessia Aletta for sending me a copy of her article prior to publication.

10. On the St. Petersburg and Moscow codices, see N.F. Kavrus, "'Almaznoe' pismo v grecheskikh rukopisiakh Moskvy i Leningrada," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 47 (1986): 191–204 at 194–97 and pls. 2–6; Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée,"* 1:79–82 and 110f., and 2:pls. 40 and 65.

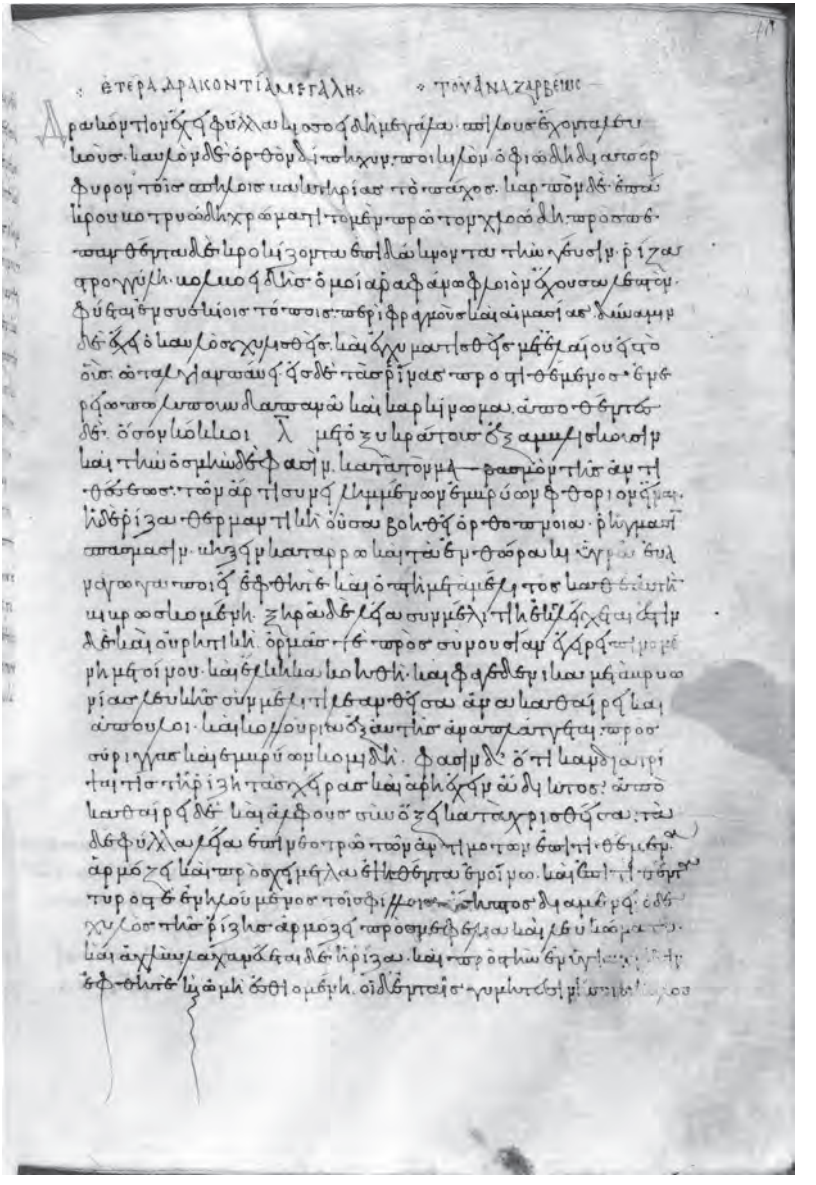

Figure 2.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.652, fol. 40r.
Gift; J.P. Morgan (1867–1943); 1920.
(By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
Photographic credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

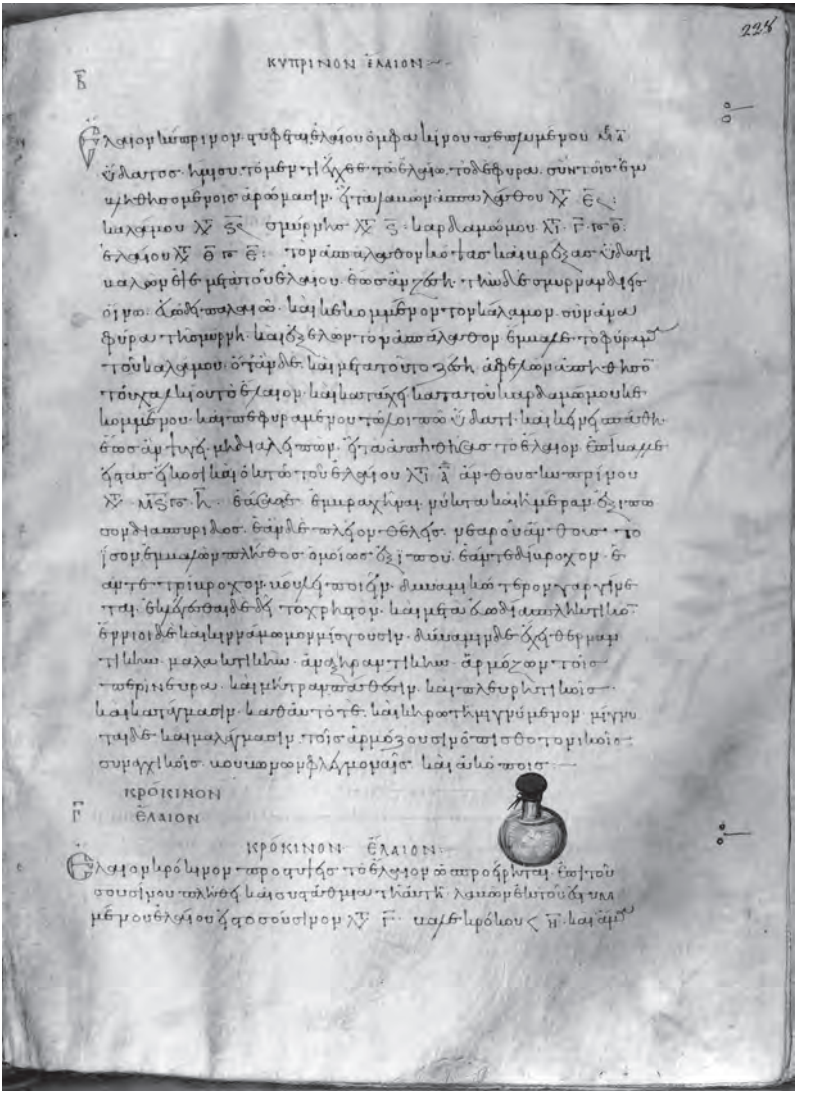

Figure 3.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.652, fol. 228rr.
Gift; J.P. Morgan (1867–1943); 1920.
(By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
Photographic credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

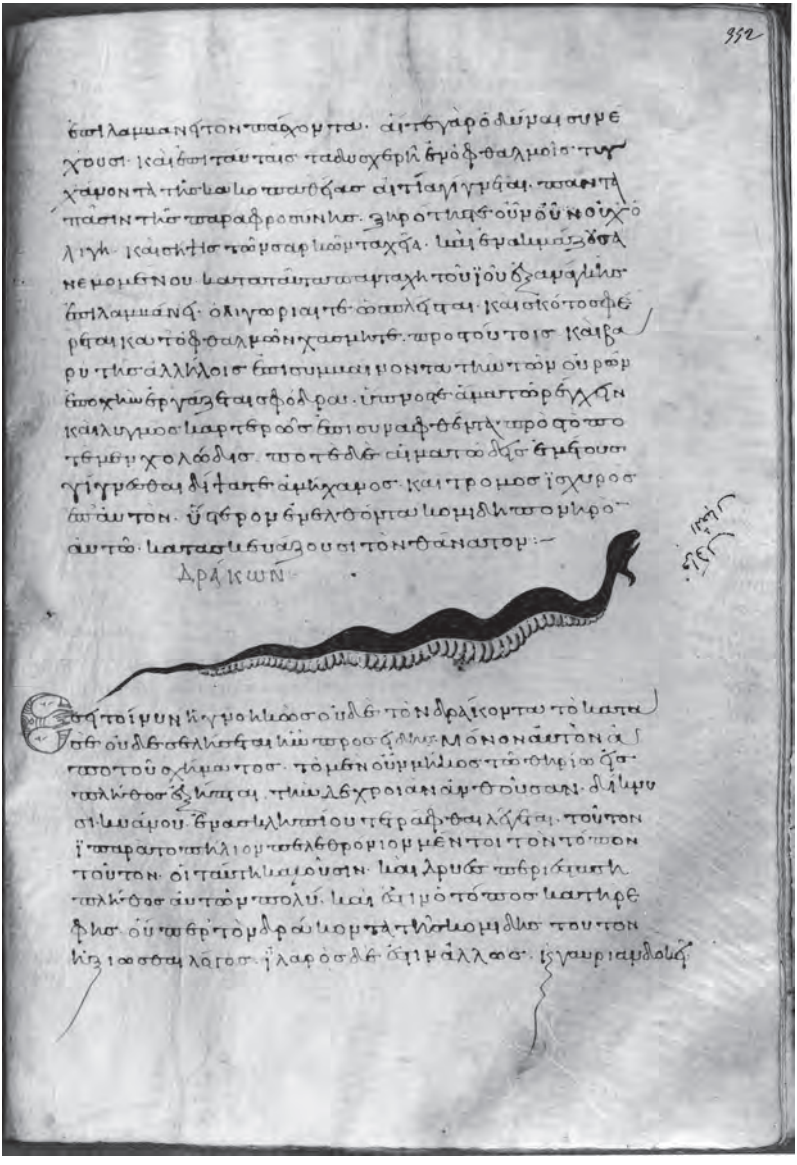

Figure 4.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.652, fol. 352r.
Gift; J.P. Morgan (1867–1943); 1920.
(By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
Photographic credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

quarter or the first half of the tenth century. But the Morgan Dioscorides displays a transitional writing style that combines features of the minuscola antica oblunga and an early minuscule bouletée, and therefore the Morgan manuscript should be dated to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.[11] This attribution is supported by the fact that all four scribes employed diacritics irregularly, which was a feature of many ninth-century manuscripts.

DECORATION

The Morgan Dioscorides is decorated with 769 miniatures, mostly plants (fig. 1) and animals (fig. 4). Some miniatures depict humans, jars with ointments (fig. 3), stones, and animal products. The large miniatures of plants usually occupy half or one-third of a page. The miniatures are incorporated into the text to illustrate a particular section. The palette is mostly dark blue and green with some red and yellow for the flowers and brown for the roots of plants. Orange was used for the lids of jars. The artist was very skillful in depicting plants and animals that look quite realistic. Most animal miniatures were clumsily retouched with black ink by a later owner or reader. On fols. 14r–15v several spaces were left blank for miniatures that were never executed.[12]

Other decoration consists of several narrow rectangular headpieces and tailpieces filled with simple hollow guilloche. They were executed in the same ink as the text, most likely by the scribes themselves. Initials are usually hollow, executed in the same ink as the text, and are not decorated except for a few epsilons incorporating the shape of a blessing hand (fig. 4).

11. This date was also proposed by Aletta, "Per una puntualizzazione."

12. For a detailed analysis of M.652's miniatures, see Anne van Buren, catalogue entry for M.652 in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 66–69, cat. no. 6.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

Each drawing is accompanied by the Greek name of a pictured plant or animal written by the original scribes in Alexandrian majuscules. Probably in the fifteenth or sixteenth century these names were translated into Arabic and Turkish and written in the Arabic alphabet next to the drawings. Notes in Turkish also comment on the plants and the regions where they can be found. For example, a Turkish note on fol. 6r states that the depicted plant, "Ἄμωμον," "grows in Armenia, has many leaves, and is rare."[13]

On fols. 166v (bottom margin) and 167r (top margin) a missing entry for "Σικὺς ἄγριος" was added by a fourteenth-century hand. On fol. 89v there is a short note by a later hand in the left margin, partially cropped: "<?> δοῦλ(ος) Χ(ριστο)ῦ ὑιὸς τοῦ <?> Ἀλεξίου" (Christ's servant son of <?> Alexios). On fol. 1r there are numerous notes by modern librarians identifying the date (s.ix–s.x), localization (Constantinople), content of the manuscript, as well as a list of other manuscripts containing Dioscorides. There are also two old library shelf numbers: "Cod. 69" (Marchese C. Rinuccini's library) and "Phillipps MS 21975" (Sir Thomas Phillipps's library).

COLOPHON

None.

BINDING

This manuscript was probably rebound in the first quarter of the fifteenth century in St. John the Baptist Petra Monastery in Constantinople. The binding is Greek, dark leather over thick (13 mm.) grooved boards. Both covers are blind-tooled with a geometric pattern of concentric rectangles.

13. I thank Jocelyn Sharlet and Baki Tezcan, both of the University of California-Davis, and Irfan Shahid of Dumbarton Oaks for their help in reading the Arabic and Turkish notes.

Four inner rectangles are criss-crossed with diagonal lines. According to Annaclara Cataldi Palau this pattern was typical for bindings executed at the Petra Monastery in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.[14] The spine is plain. There are no pastedowns. Fasteners are missing (there are holes in the covers for four fasteners—two on the side fore edge, one on the top fore edge, and one on the bottom fore edge. The binding is sewn at six stations. Endbands are plain (not colored) and simple (not braided). The manuscript is kept in a brown morocco case.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

Paleographic evidence strongly supports the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century as the most likely date for the execution of M.652. It was almost certainly produced in Constantinople, where the necessary resources and wealthy patrons were available for such an ambitious project. The manuscript would have been very costly because of its size, the price of parchment, and payments to calligraphers and artist(s). Originally the manuscript probably had about 500 folios, as was estimated by Alessia Aletta.[15] About 125 goat skins were needed to produce this manuscript, because only two bifolia measuring 600 x 400 mm. could have been made from a single skin.

Who commissioned such a lavish codex? Anne Van Buren has suggested an imperial family—either the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos or his son Romanos II—and this hypothesis agrees with her attribution of this manuscript to the middle of the tenth century.[16] However,

14. Annaclara Cataldi Palau, "Legature costantinopolitane del monastero di Prodromo Petra tra i manoscritti di Giovanni di Ragusa († 1443)," *Codices manuscripti* 37/38 (2001): 11–50.

15. Aletta, "Per una puntualizzazione."

16. Van Buren, catalogue entry for M.652 in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 67.

I agree with Alessia Aletta that M.652 should be reattributed to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, and so another patron must be sought. Aletta suggested patriarch Photius, but acknowledged that there is no persuasive evidence in favor of his patronage. My hypothesis is that the Morgan Dioscorides was commissioned by Leo VI "the Wise" (emperor 886–912), either for his personal physician or for a hospital or infirmary under imperial patronage. It is also possible that it was commissioned by a wealthy member of the imperial family or by some other privileged member of Byzantine society for donation to a hospital. It is unlikely that the manuscript was intended for an imperial library or for the personal collection of a wealthy individual, because its wear clearly indicates heavy use, presumably by doctors and other medical practitioners. Byzantine medicine has not yet been sufficiently studied, but John Scarborough, a historian of medicine and pharmacology, affirms that medicine was practiced at a high level in Byzantium, in provincial hospitals as well as in Constantinople.[17] For example, St. Sampson the Xenodochos, who probably lived in the sixth century, founded a hospital in Constantinople.[18]

In the fifteenth century the Morgan Dioscorides was apparently in St. John the Baptist Petra Monastery (Prodromos Petra Monastery) in Constantinople, where it was rebound and received a cover distinctive to this monastery. In addition, M.652 was used as a model for many miniatures in Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, MS gr. 194, which was copied by the scribe Neophytos Prodromenos in St. John the Baptist Petra Monastery.[19] In the sixteenth cen-

17. *ODB,* 2:1327f. See also *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine,* ed. J. Scarborough, special issue, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984).

18. *ODB,* 3:1837.

19. Elene D. Kakoulide, "He bibliotheke tes mones Prodromou-Petras sten Konstantinoupole," *Hellenika* 21 (1968): 3–39 at 13f.

tury M.652 may have been owned by the nobleman Michael Kantakouzenos, and subsequently by Nikolaos Karatzas.[20]
228 Reliable provenance information starts in 1820, when the manuscript was obtained by Domenico Sestini in Istanbul, who then sold it to Marchese Rinuccini of Florence (cod. 69). It was purchased in 1849 by Payne and Foss; Payne sale (London, Sotheby's, Apr. 30, 1857, lot 389) to Charles Phillipps for Sir Thomas Phillipps (Phillipps Collection, no. 21975). Purchased by the Pierpont Morgan Library from the Phillipps estate through Fitz Roy Fenwick, Esq., in 1920.[21]

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20. Internal file and Georgios K. Papazoglou, "Un manuscrit de la collection des Cantacuzènes à la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York," *Byzantion* 67 (1997): 517–23. Papazoglou convincingly argues that in 1578 the manuscript was not owned by Manuel Eugenikos as has been stated in some publications.

21. Provenance information is taken from the internal file, De Ricci, and Van Buren, catalogue entry for M.652 in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*.

22. On additional bibliography and the internal file of M.652, see the Morgan Library and Museum website.

145, 166f.; *Treasures from the Pierpont Morgan Library*: *Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition* (New York, 1957), 14, cat. no. 9 and pl. 2; Faye and Bond, 352; Elene D. Kakoulide, "He bibliotheke tes mones Prodromou-Petras sten Konstantinoupole," *Hellenika* 21 (1968): 3–39 at 13f.; Anne van Buren, "*De Materia Medica* of Dioscurides," in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 66–69, cat. no. 6, figs. 8–9; Jean Irigoin, "Une écriture du Xe siècle: La Minuscule bouletée," in *PGB,* 191–99 at 195; Zoltán Kádár, *Survivals of Greek Zoological Illuminations in Byzantine Manuscripts* (Budapest, 1978), 55–76, 122, 133f., and pls. 32–45, 64–85, 96–101; Alain Touwaide, "Un manuscrit athonite du *ΠΕΡΙ ΥΛΗΣ ΙΑΤΡΙΚΗΣ* de Dioscoride: L'Athous Megistis Lavras Ω 75," *Scriptorium* 45 (1991): 122–27 at 124 and 126; Maria Luisa Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée,"* 2 vols., Littera antique, 9 (Vatican City, 1992), 1:270f.; N.F. Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Rukopis' Dioskorida Biblioteki Pierpont Morgan M 652 (Niu-York): Kodikologicheskoe i paleograficheskoe opisanie," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 56 (1995): 185–90; David Murphy,"Hyphens in Greek Manuscripts," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 36 (1995), 293–314 at 300; Kathleen Corrigan, catalogue entry for M.652 in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261,* ed. Helen Evans and William D. Wixom (New York, 1997), 237f., cat. no. 161 with ill.; Georgios K. Papazoglou, "Un manuscrit de la collection des Cantacuzènes à la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York," *Byzantion* 67 (1997): 517–23; Antonio Iacobini and Lidia Perria, *Il Vangelo di Dionisio*: *Un manoscritto bizantino da Costantinopoli a Messina,* Milion, 4 (Rome, 1998), 41; Minta Collins, *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Traditions* (Toronto, 2000), passim, figs. 13–17, 19 and pl. V; *I Vangeli dei popoli: La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia,* ed. Francesco D'Aiuto, Giovanni Morello, and Ambrogio M. Piazzoni (Vatican City, 2000), 124; Annaclara Cataldi Palau, "Legature costantinopolitane del monastero di Prodromo Petra tra i manoscritti di Giovanni di Ragusa († 1443)," *Codices manuscripti* 37/38 (2001): 11–

50 at 19, 21, 38, and fig. 14; Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Tenth-Century Greek Gospels at the Walters Art Museum:
230 Writing Styles and Ornamental Motifs," *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 62 (2004): 21–34 at 22 and pl. 3; Alain Touwaide et al., *Herbolarium et materia medica (ms. 296): Libro de Estudios* (Madrid, 2007), pls. 6, 7, 21, 22, 30–32, 101, and 102; Alessia Adriana Aletta, "Per una puntualizzazione cronologica del Morgan 652 (Dioscoride)," in *Praktika tou 6' Diethnous Symposiou Ellenikes Palaiographias (Drama, 21–27 Septembriou 2003),* ed. Basiles Atsalos and Nike Tsirone, 3 vols. (Athens, 2008), 2:771–87.

MS M.654.1–4

Lectionary of the Gospels, fragments (Aland *l* 1030)
Parent manuscript dated March 6, 1596

CONTENTS

Fol. 1r: full-page portrait of the Evangelist Mark.

Fol. 1v: blank.

Fol. 2r: full-page portrait of the Evangelist Matthew.

Fol. 2v: blank.

Fol. 3r: full-page portrait of the Evangelist Luke.

Fol. 3v: blank.

Fol. 4r: full-page portrait of the Evangelist John dictating to Prochoros.

Fol. 4v: blank.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Paper, fols. 4: fol. 1, 277 x 185 mm.; fol. 2, 274 x 185 mm.; fol. 3, 274 x 188 mm.; fol. 4, 277 x 188 mm. Margins are cropped. Original fols. 3 and 4 are each glued to a larger (335 x 223 mm. and 345 x 217 mm. respectively) paper leaf. The folios are not ruled. There are no watermarks.

SCRIPT

The parent manuscript (Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, MS Anastaseos 5) was copied by the well-known ecclesiastic and accomplished calligrapher Arsenios, archbishop of Elasson (see ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE). His script is large, rounded, "baroque" liturgical minuscule—a classic example of the "Wallachian school."[23]

The only texts in M.654 are the first lines of the Gospels that the Evangelists are copying. In the first three miniatures the text is Greek; in the fourth, Prochoros is writing in Old Slavonic. Additionally, the names of the Evangelists Mark and Matthew are inscribed in large majuscules in red ink above their portraits. There are no inscriptions for Luke and John. The name of Prochoros is inscribed in white paint above his portrait.

23. On the "Wallachian" writing style, see Linos Politis, "Persistances byzantines dans l'écriture liturgique du XVIIe siècle," in *PGB*, 371–81, and "Un centre de calligraphie dans les principautés danubiennes au XVIIe siècle: Lucas Buzău et son cercle," in *Tenth International Congress of Bibliophiles, Athens 30 September–6 October 1977: Acts*, ed. Francis R. Walton (Athens, 1977), 1–11; Gary Vikan, "Walters Lectionary W. 535 (A.D. 1594) and the Revival of Deluxe Greek Manuscript Production after the Fall of Constantinople," in *The Byzantine Tradition after the Fall of Constantinople*, ed. John J. Yiannias (Charlottesville, Va., 1991), 181–268; Aksiniia Džurova, "La Synthèse slavo-byzantine dans les manuscrits grecs dits de 'grand luxe,' créés en Valachie et en Moldavie aux XVIe–XVIIe siècles," in *He Hellenike graphe kata tous 15o kai 16o aiones = The Greek Script in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Athens, 2000), 499–521.

DECORATION

The four folios contain portraits of the Evangelists. Mark, Matthew, and Luke are each depicted seated on a large backless chair behind a desk, with their feet resting on a flat footstool. They are pictured in three-quarter profile to the right. Mark holds a folded quire on his lap and is copying his Gospel from a scroll. Matthew is holding a scroll with his Gospel. Luke holds a folded quire on his lap and is copying his Gospel from an open codex. There are tall buildings in the background of these three miniatures.

John is pictured standing and dictating the Gospel to his secretary Prochoros, who is seated in front of a cave in the lower right corner of the miniature.[24] John's body is in three-quarter profile to the right with his head turned to the left. He is accepting the Divine Revelation with his open left hand and, with his right hand stretched downward, is transferring the Revelation to the seated Prochoros. The rays of the Divine Revelation emanate from a small segment of the sky in the upper right corner of the miniature. This miniature epitomizes traditional Byzantine iconography. John and Prochoros are depicted before a mountainous landscape and a cave, symbolizing John's exile to the rocky island of Patmos where he received the Divine Revelation (Apocalypse). Although related to the Apocalypse, this scene was often placed in manuscripts before the Gospel of John.

The four miniatures are framed with wide borders filled with floral and geometric ornaments. The palette is rich, and many bright colors were employed, including liquid gold. Nancy Ševčenko observed the influence of Rus-

24. See reproductions of this miniature in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, fig. 110; Olga Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften des Schreibers Matthaios von Myra, 1596–1624: Untersuchungen zur Griechischen Buchmalerei um 1600*, Sonderheft der Zeitschrift Mnemon, 1 (Athens, 1982), fig. 24; and Vikan, "Walters Lectionary W. 535," fig. 3.20.

sian and, more specifically, Muscovite artistic style on these iconographically Byzantine portraits.[25]

COLOPHON
In the parent manuscript on fol. 515r.[26]

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES
None.

BINDING
Matted.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE
The four leaves with the portraits of the Evangelists came from a lectionary manuscript now in Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, MS Anastaseos 5. The manuscript has a scribal colophon (fol. 515r) and a dedicatory poem (fol. 516v). According to the colophon the manuscript was copied in Moscow in March of 1596 by Arsenios, archbishop of Elasson. In the dedicatory poem Arsenios stated that the lectionary was executed during the reign of Tsar Fedor (i.e., Fedor I, son of Ivan the Terrible) and was donated ("sent") to the

25. Sofia Kotzabassi and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, with the collaboration of Don C. Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Princeton, forthcoming). I thank Nancy Ševčenko for sharing with me her description of M.654's miniatures in the catalogue entry for the Princeton leaves (acc. nos. y1954-67 and y1954-68). The Princeton leaves originated from the same parent manuscript as M.654.1–4.

26. See the Greek text of the colophon in Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosolymitike Vivliotheke …*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1891–1915), 3:203, and in B.L. Fonkich, *Grechesko-russkie kul'turnye sviazi v XV–XVII vv. (Grecheskie rukopisi v Rossii)* (Moscow, 1977), 53. See the English translation of the colophon and the poem in Vikan, "Walters Lectionary W. 535," 215.

monastery of St. Sabas near Jerusalem "for commemoration of myself and my parents and brothers."[27]

The manuscript was probably brought to Palestine by hieromonk Theophanes in 1605, together with another codex also copied by Arsenios in Moscow in 1596 (Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, MS Anastaseos 18).[28] According to the scribal colophon, Anastaseos 18 was executed for the tsars Boris Godunov and Fedor I and was dedicated to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Panagiou Taphou) in Jerusalem. A note written by hieromonk Theophanes indicates that he "delivered this Gospel book from the hands of the tsar Boris to the Holy Sepulchre … in the summer of 7113 [= AD 1605]."[29]

In the late nineteenth century Anastaseos 5 was transferred to the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem, together with other manuscripts of the St. Sabas Monastery. Around 1918 the manuscript was in Damascus as collateral on a loan and was returned to Jerusalem apparently with several folios missing.[30] The four folios with the portraits of the Evangelists were purchased by J.P. Morgan (1867–1943) from Dikran G. Kelekian in 1920.[31] Two leaves from Anastaseos 5 are at the Princeton University Art Museum (acc. nos. y1954-67

27. See the Greek text of the dedicatory poem in Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 3:203, and in Fonkich, 53. See the English translation of the poem in Vikan, "Walters Lectionary W. 535," 215f. It is clear from the poem that this manuscript was not executed for Tsar Fedor I and was not given to the monastery by the tsar, as has been stated in some publications, for example, in Politis, "Un centre de calligraphie," 5, and *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 207.

28. This hypothesis was first proposed by Aleksei A. Dmitrievskii in *Archiepiskop Elassonskii Arsenii …* (Kiev, 1899), 60f.

29. See the Greek text of the colophon and Theophanes's note in Fonkich, 54f. The note mentions only Tsar Boris Godunov as a donor because Fedor I died in 1598.

30. According to Vikan, "Walters Lectionary W. 535," 212 n. 31.

31. This information is taken from the internal file for M.654.

and y1954-68), and one leaf is in the University of Toronto Malcove Collection (MS 82.446).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

De Ricci, 2:1479; Clark, 161; Gary Vikan, cat. no. 62 in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 207 and fig. 110; Linos Politis, "Persistances byzantines dans l'écriture liturgique du XVIIe siècle," in *PGB*, 371–81 at 374 n. 12 (mistakenly identified as M.659); Olga Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften des Schreibers Matthaios von Myra, 1596–1624: Untersuchungen zur Griechischen Buchmalerei um 1600*, Sonderheft der Zeitschrift Mnemon, 1 (Athens, 1982), 25 and fig. 24; Gary Vikan, "Walters Lectionary W. 535 (A.D. 1594) and the Revival of Deluxe Greek Manuscript Production after the Fall of Constantinople," in *The Byzantine Tradition after the Fall of Constantinople*, ed. John J. Yiannias (Charlottesville, Va., 1991), 181–268 at 190 and fig. 3.20; Kotzabassi, Ševčenko, and Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*, catalogue entry for Princeton University Art Museum y1954-67 and y1954-68.

On the parent manuscript Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, MS Anastaseos 5, see Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosolymitike Vivliotheke … ,* 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1891–1915), 3:200–203; Vikan, "Walters Lectionary W. 535," 190–95, and n. 31 (212–16).

MS M.655

John Chrysostom, *In genesim* (homilies 1–41), incomplete
236 s.ix[4/4]

CONTENTS

Fols. 1r–6v, 23r–30v, 7r–22v, 31r–200v, 217r–231v, and 201r–216v:[32] **John Chrysostom**, *In genesim* (homilies 1–41), incomplete. No title. Inc. mut. (fol. 1r): <συνε>//χόντων τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν ὑμετέραν φθεγξώμεθα (homily 1, *PG*, 53:21, line 50,); Expl. mut. (fol. 216v): καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παρελεύσεσθαι (sic), οὗ εἵνεκεν (sic) ἐξεκλίνατε// (homily 41, *PG*, 53:379, line 60).

Lacunae: between fols.6v and 23r (one folio): Expl. mut. (fol. 6v): … ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀπελή//<λαται> (homily 2, *PG,* 53:27, ln. 22), Inc. mut. (fol. 23r): //ἢ τὰ μετὰ πολὺν ἐσόμενα χρόνον εἶπον … (homily 2, *PG,* 53:28, ln. 14); between fols. 126v and 127r (homilies 16–20): Expl. (fol. 126v): καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ἄνωθεν ῥοπὴν ἐπισπάσασθαι, ἧς γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀπολαῦσαι χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δόξα, κράτος, τιμὴ, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν (end of homily 15, *PG,* 53:125, lines 46–51), Inc. (fol. 127r): Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων … (beginning of homily 21, *PG,* 53:175, line 2); between folios 134v and 135r (end of homily 21, homilies 22–23, beginning of homily 24): Expl. mut. (fol. 134v): .. πῶς εὑρὼν ἄνδρα τὴν ἀρετὴν// (homily 21, *PG,* 53:181, ln. 19), Inc. mut. (fol. 135r): <Δη>//μιουργὸς, ὁ καὶ εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν … (homily 24, *PG,* 53:212, line 69); between fols. 173v and 174r (one folio): Expl. mut. (fol. 173v): … ὅτι ἐν εἰκόνι Θ(εο)ῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄν(θρωπ)ον// (homily 27, *PG,* 53:246, ln. 33), Inc. mut.

32. Several quires in this manuscript were misbound. I present the correct order of folios.

(fol. 174r): //μνησικακεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον … (homily 27, *PG*, 53:248, line 16); between folios 200v and 217r (end of homily 29, homily 30, beginning of homily 31): Expl. mut. (fol. 200v): … ὁ Παῦλος γράφων Θεσσαλονικεῦσιν φησίν (homily 29, *PG*, 53:270, line 33), Inc. mut. (fol. 217r): <κομῶν>//τα τὰ λήϊα, οὐ παύεται τὰ παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην εἰσφέρων … (homily 31, *PG*, 53:283, line 6); between folios 231v and 201r (end of homily 32, homilies 33–37, beginning of homily 38): Expl. mut. (fol. 231r): … ἀκριβῶς μνημονεύεται τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑποσχέσεων γινομένων, ϊν᾽ (sic) ὅταν// (homily 32, *PG*, 53:295, lines 16–17), Inc. mut. (fol. 201r): <τικτό>//μενοι παῖδες τῇ τῶν γεγενηκότων (sic) ἀρετῇ … (homily 38, *PG*, 53:360, line 31). 237

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 232 (foliated 1–231 plus a mutilated folio numbered 154bis); three modern paper fly-leaves (one at the beginning and two at the end of the manuscript); 282/288 x 205/222 mm. (one col.; written surface 220/237 x 145/150 mm.). The manuscript was trimmed unevenly during binding. An outer corner of fol. 44 (and also of fols. 50 and 79) was turned in (folded over) before the trimming. This helps to estimate the original size of the manuscript as approximately 310 x 230 mm. Written in 31 lines (32 lines on fols. 79–80 and 85–86), interlinear space 7/8.5 mm. Ruled Leroy 10A1n (20A1n on fols. 79–80 and 85–86).[33] Horizontal lines occasionally do not reach the edge of a folio and are sometimes faint in the margins, especially when the lines are made by impression and not directly with an in-

33. I do not agree that the majority of folios have ruling pattern 10C1. Cf. Alessia Aletta, "Un codice poco noto in minuscola libraria antica: Il Morgan 655," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 55 (2001): 43–62 at 45. On most pages of M.655 the horizontal lines extend well beyond the justification lines.

strument. Ruling systems are Leroy 9, 10, and V2 as well as some original systems. Ruling was done mostly on the
238 hair side of the parchment, but occasionally on the flesh side (e.g., on fols. 74–75). Ruled with sharp dry point; ruled lines occasionally cut through the parchment. Pricking was mostly trimmed during binding; remaining punctures are in the shape of small triangles. The script is positioned on the ruled lines.[34] Thirty quires, several were misbound and several are missing (see lacunae above); collation (with corrected order of the quires): 1^8 (-1, 8, with loss of text; fols. 1r–6v) 2^8 (fols. 23r–30v) $3–4^8$ (fols. 7r–22v) 5^8 (fols. 31r–38v) 6^8 (-6, +6; fols. 39r–46v)[35] $7–19^8$ (fols. 47r–150v) 20^6 (a ternion, -6, with no loss of text; fols. 151r–154bisv) $21–22^8$ (fols. 155r–170v) 23^8 (-4, 5, with loss of text; fols. 171r–176v) $24–26^8$ (fols. 177r–200v) 27^8 (-1, with loss of text; fols. 217r–223v) 28^8 (fols. 224r–231v) $29–30^8$ (fols. 201r–216v). Quire signatures are missing; most likely they were trimmed during binding. Parchment of mediocre quality, thickness varies (most folios are thick), warped, with some scalloping. There are a few stitches on the folios where the ruling instrument cut through the parchment. The flesh side is ivory-white; the

34. The positioning of the minuscule script on the ruled lines suggests that the date for the manuscript is the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. On this subject, see Maria Luisa Agati, *Il libro manoscritto: Introduzione alla codicologia,* Studia archaeologica, 124 (Rome, 2003), 196; and Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, review of *Il libro manuscritto: Introduzione alla codicologia*, by Maria Luisa Agati, *Chrysograph* 2 (2005): 296–305 at 303f.

35. The sixth folio of the sixth quire (fol. 44) is apparently a replacement for a damaged original. The text on this folio is written by the original scribe but in a lighter ink. The last line on fol. 44v ends about half way along the ruled line, leaving blank space and the text continues on fol. 45r without a lacuna. The folio was inserted into the quire with a violation of "Gregory's rule," according to which the flesh side of a parchment folio should face the flesh side of another folio to prevent curling. Violations of this rule by the Greek scribes are rare. For more on "Gregory's rule," see Agati, *Il libro manoscritto*, 154f.

hair side is yellow. Traces of hair follicles are visible on several folios.

The paper of the fly-leaves is thin and yellowish. Chain lines are vertical, 38 mm. apart; laid lines are horizontal, 23 on 20 mm. On two back cover fly-leaves (in the middle of each folio) there is a watermark, "banner on a pole" with letters GBZ (Z is in the shape of 3), and in the lower outer corner of the front fly-leaf there is a countermark, "trefoil" with the same letters. An identical countermark, but with a different watermark ("Paschal lamb" with a banner), is found in Sofia, Dujčev Center, MS D. gr. 286, datable to 1650/60.[36]

SCRIPT

One scribe, anonymous. The script is large, clear, and rounded minuscule with slightly elongated upper and lower strokes of many letters, almost upright with a slight inclination to the left (fig. 5). The minuscule is pure (there are no majuscule forms inserted into the minuscule). Accents are occasionally missing. There are no abbreviations except an infrequent tachygraphic abbreviation for καί. Letters zeta and xi have elongated lower stroke extended to the left. I call this script "ancient rounded minuscule." It is related to other writing styles employed in the second half of the ninth century, such as *minuscola antica oblunga*, *minuscola antica quadrata*, *minuscola typo Anastasio*, and *pre-bouletée*.[37] Scripts similar to that of M.655 are found in manuscripts such as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS

36. Radoman Stanković, *Filigranološki opis i album grčkih rukopisa XV–XIX veka: Centar za slovensko-vizantijska proučavanja "prof. Ivan Dujčev"* = La Description des filigranes et l'album des manuscrits grecs XV–XIX siècle du Centre de Recherches Slavo-Byzantines "Prof. Ivan Dujčev" (Sofia, 2006), 125.

37. On ancient minuscule scripts, see Follieri, and Lidia Perria, "Alle origini della minuscola libraria greca: Morfologia e stilizzazioni," in Giancarlo Prato, ed., *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*: *Atti del*

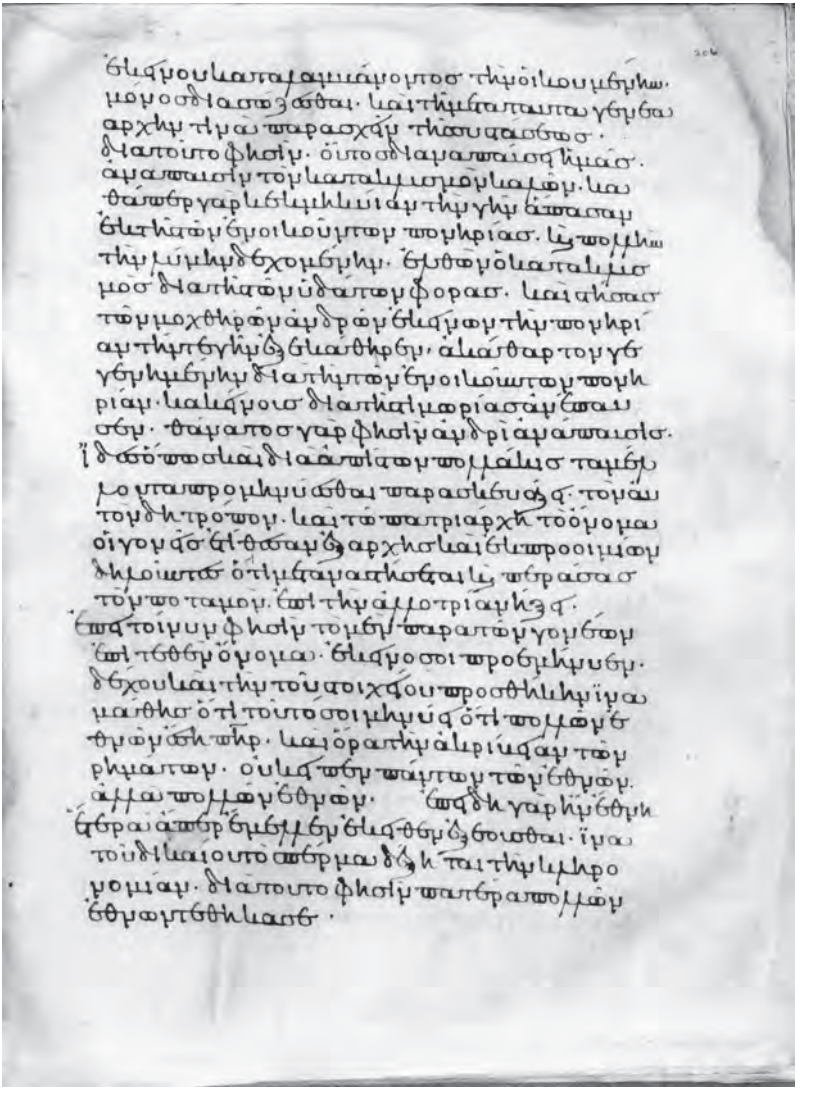

Figure 5.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.655, fol. 206r.
Gift; J.P. Morgan (1867–1943); 1924.
(By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
Photographic credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

Coisl. 230; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barocci 235; and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. gr. 29.[38] These codices are attributed to the last quarter of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century.

Ink is dark brown (fols. 1r–117v, except fol. 44r–v) and light brown (fols. 44r–v, 118r–231v). The light brown ink has a chestnut hue. The *kalamos* is medium thick. The titles of the homilies are written in Constantinopolitan distinguishing majuscule[39] and in the same ink as the text.

DECORATION

The decoration of the manuscript is minimal and was apparently executed by the scribe himself using the same ink as the text (no color was employed in the entire manuscript). It consists of short intermittent wavy lines with small knots at the ends, used to separate one homily from the next and sometimes to surround the title of a homily. In the latter case the lines form a rectangle adorned with small heart-shaped finials. On fol. 6r the title of the second homily is enclosed in an unfilled double rectangular frame, and on fol. 155r the title of the twenty-sixth homily sits within an empty pi-shaped headpiece. The first initial of each homily is enlarged and placed in the margin. The initials are hollow majuscule letters and either left blank or filled with ink. A few initials are slightly pen-ornamented.[40] Minor ini-

V Colloquio internazionale di paleografia greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998), 3 vols. (Florence, 2000), 1:157–67 and 3:pls. 1–20.

38. See examples of the handwritings in Coisl. 320 in Perria, "Alle origini," 3:pl. 17b; of Barocci 235 in Nigel G. Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands: Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1973; repr. 1995 in one vol.), pl. 16; and Reg. gr. 29 in Follieri, pl. 8b.

39. On this type of distinguishing majuscule, see Herbert Hunger, "Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 26 (1977): 193–210 at 195 and fig. 2.

40. See Aletta, "Un codice poco noto," fig. 1.

tials are minuscule; they are slightly enlarged and placed in the margins. On fol. 155r (the beginning of the twenty-sixth homily) there is a pi-shaped unfilled headpiece with small fleur-de-lis finials on the top corners. The hollow vertical parts of the initial M are filled with plain interlace.[41]

COLOPHON

None.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

There are several notes in the margins by a later (thirteenth century?) non-calligraphic hand in charcoal ink and thick *kalamos*. These notes are copies of the titles of the homilies. On fol. 210v (bottom margin) there is a note written by a different unskilled hand: "Ὁ ταβουλλάριος καὶ κληρικὸς τῆς ἁγιοτάτης ἐποισκοπὴς (sic) Δαφνοῦσί(ας) (sic) [<one word illegible>] ἀναγνώστης <ὁ?> μεγαλον<αΐτης?>" (*Taboullarios* [secretary or notary] and cleric of the holiest episcopate of Daphnousia [probably a bishopric in Bithynia, Asia Minor] … *anagnostes* [minor cleric] *megalonaites*.) On fol. 207v (bottom margin) there is a non-scribal monocondylion by yet another hand, in light brown ink: "Σάββα(ς) [<one word illegible>]." The note and the monocondylion cannot be dated. Also, in the bottom margins there are notes in a modern hand indicating missing homilies.

BINDING

Probably seventeenth-century binding; brown sheep leather over pasteboards, spine restored with light brown leather. Sewn at five stations. Both front and back cover are blind-stamped with the same ornamental design: a large quatrefoil in the middle with four bees in the corners surrounded by plain triple frames. On the spine there is an erroneous title in modern script: "Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου εἰς τὴν

41. Ibid., pl. 3.

Ἑξαήμερον ἐν μεμβράνῃ." "Chrysostomus" and "M.655" are printed under the title. There are paper pastedowns on both sides. Paper is probably the same as the seventeenth-century fly-leaves. Both pastedowns contain text (probably from a Menaion) written in *Gebrauchtsschrift* in dark brown ink.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

Paleographic and codicological evidence support the last quarter of the ninth century as the most likely date for the manuscript's production. It was copied in the "ancient rounded minuscule," which is related to other writing styles employed in the second half of the ninth century (see SCRIPT). The minuscule is pure; no majuscule forms were inserted into it. This pure minuscule is unusual, primarily found in manuscripts from the ninth century and rarely found in manuscripts from the tenth. Furthermore, the script is positioned on the ruled lines, and such placement commonly appears in manuscripts from the ninth and early tenth century. Finally, irregular accents are a distinctive feature of ninth-century manuscripts.

This manuscript does not provide clues to its origin. There are no regional peculiarities in script, codicological features, or decoration. Southern Italy as a possible place of its production was proposed by Silva Lake when the manuscript first came into J.P. Morgan's possession. Her hypothesis was based on comparison of M.655's script and that of Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, MS 33, which was copied by the monk Nikolaos and his son Daniel in Calabria in 941.[42] But the two manuscripts are not related and were copied in different writing styles: Patmos

42. Kirsopp and Silva Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200,* 10 vols., Monumenta palaeographica vetera, 1st ser. (Boston, Mass., 1934–39), 1:14 and pls. 28–34.

33 in the "type of Anastasios,"[43] and M.655 in the "ancient rounded minuscule." Although the two scripts have some similarities, the "type of Anastasios" is angular rather than rounded and displays an artificial mannerism not perceptible in other types of early minuscule. And Patmos 33 was copied a half a century later than M.655.

The mediocre quality of the parchment and austerity of the decoration suggest that M.655 was executed in a monastic scriptorium. This scriptorium could have been located in Constantinople, but it is equally plausible that the manuscript was copied in a provincial monastery, possibly in Bithynia (Asia Minor), where subsequently the manuscript was read or possessed by the "taboullarios and cleric of the holiest episcopate of Daphnousia." But there is not enough evidence to confirm that the manuscript was also executed in that locale.

The manuscript was purchased in London by J.P. Morgan (1867–1943) in July, 1922, from Sophronios Eustratiades, archbishop of Leontopolis (Egypt).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

De Ricci, 2:1480 (attributes MS to s.xii); Leslie Webber Jones, "Pricking Systems in New York Manuscripts," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati,* Studi e testi, 6 (Vatican City, 1946), 81–92 at 88 (attributes MS to s.x and suggests southern Italy as place of production); Jean Irigoin, "Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins," *Scriptorium* 12 (1958): 208–27 at 214; Robert E. Carter, *Codices Chrysostomici graeci,* vol. 3, *Codices Americae et Europae occidentalis* (Paris, 1970), 20f., cat.

43. On "type of Anastasios" writing style, see Lidia Perria, "La minuscola 'typo Anastasio,'" in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio: Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Giuseppe De Gregorio, and Marilena Maniaci, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1991), 1:271–318; and Marco D'Agostino and Giancarlo Prato, *La minuscola "typo Anastasio" dalla scrittura alla decorazione* (Bari, 1997).

no. 19 (attributes MS to s.ix–s.x); Alessia A. Aletta, "Un codice poco noto in minuscola libraria antica: Il Morgan 655," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 55 (2001): 43–62.

MS M.656

Psalter, with liturgical hymns (end missing)

Romania/Wallachia, Dealu Monastery, s.xvii$^{1/4}$ (probably between 1610 and 1624)

CONTENTS

1. fols. 1r–295r: *Septuaginta,* Psalms (1–151). Title (fol. 1r): Δα(ϋὶ)δ προφ(ή)του (καὶ) βασιλέως μέλος. Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δα(ϋὶ)δ. Subtitle (fol. 1r): Ἀνεπίγραφος παρ᾽ Ἑβραίοις. Inc. (fol. 1r): Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη … ; Expl. (fol. 295r, line 5): … καὶ ἦρα ὄνειδος ἐξ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ.

   Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, 9th ed., 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1935; repr. 1971), 2:1–164.

2. fols. 295r–320r: *Septuaginta,* Odes (1–9). Title (fol. 295r): Ἄρδην βυθίσας Φαραὼ Μωσῆς λέγει.[44] Ὠιδὴ Μωσέως (sic) ἐν τῇ Ἐξόδῳ. Inc. (fol. 295r, line 6): Ἄισωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται … ; Expl. (fol. 320r): … τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν εἰς ὁδὸν εἰρήνης.

   Rahlfs, 164–83.

Fol. 320v: blank.

44. This line is from Neophytos Enkleistos, *Ἑρμηνεία* τῶν ᾠδῶν. See Th. Detorakes, "Ερμηνεία τῶν ᾠδῶν," in *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα,* ed. I. Karabidopoulos, C. Oikonomou, D.G. Tsames, and N. Zacharopoulos, 4 vols. (Paphos, 2001), 4:531–59 at 531.

3. fols. 321r–325r: Liturgical hymns to be sung during Lent. Title (fol. 321r): Ὕμνοι τριαδικοί. Subtitle (fol. 321r): Ἦχος α'. Inc. (fol. 321r): Σωματικαῖς μορφώσεσι … ; Expl. (fol. 325r): … ἅγιος, ἅγ(ιος), ἅγιος εἶ ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς διὰ τῆς Θ(εοτό)κου.[45]

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4. fol. 325v: Table of feasts and folios with corresponding psalms (1–19). Title: Πίναξ τῶν ἐκλόγων τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ. Inc.: Εἰς τὴν Χ(ριστο)ῦ Γέννησιν – φύλλα δ'; Expl.: Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Αἰκατερίναν – φύλλα ξη'.

5. fols. 326r–375v: Psalms to be sung during feasts listed on fol. 325v (1–14; psalms 15–19 are missing). Title (fol. 326r): Πολυέλεος ψαλλόμενος ἐν ταῖς δεσποτικαῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ εἰς ταῖς μνήμαις τῶν δοξαζομένων ἁγίων. Περιέχων καὶ τὰς καθ'ἑορτὰς ἐκλογὰς, ἁρμοδίως ἐρανισθείσας, παρά τινος μοναχοῦ σιναΐτου. Inc. (fol. 326r): Ἀινεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα Κ(υρίο)υ. Αἰνεῖτε δοῦλοι Κ(ύριο)ν … (Psalm 134:1); Expl. mut. (fol. 375v): …Ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς κριτής ἐστιν. Ὁδὸν πόλεως κατοικητηρίου οὐχ εὗρον. Πεινῶντες// (Psalm 106:4–5).

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Paper, fols. 375, fourteen paper fly-leaves, five in the beginning (numbered *i–v*) and nine at the end (numbered 376–84); 207/208 x 144/153 mm. (one col.; written surface 131/133 x 80/85 mm.). Written in 15 lines; interlinear space 8/9 mm. There are double justification lines ruled on each verso but no ruled lines for the text. Forty-seven quires; collation: 1^{8} (-1, no loss of text, possible loss of decoration or prefatory material) $2–47^{8}$. Quires are not signed. Catch-words written by the scribe are positioned horizontally and located in the lower right corner of the last verso of each quire. In addition, there are single crosslets in the middle of the top margin of each folio. Paper is polished, creamy-white, me-

45. Text can be found at http://analogion.net/glt.

dium-thick, of very good quality. Chain lines are horizontal, 30/31 mm. apart; laid lines are vertical, 20 on 25 mm. There are two similar watermarks. One is a "crown" with a small cross on the bottom and a six-pointed star with crescent on the top, together with a countermark represented by the letters P and B with a trefoil on the top. The second watermark is the same "crown" but without a cross on the bottom, and the countermark displays the letters F and Z (in the shape of 3) with a trefoil on the top. Neither is found in the major watermark repertories.[46] Similar variants are found in Sofia, Dujčev Center, MSS D. gr. 24 (dated 1611) and D. gr. 36 (dated 1615/25). [47] Fly-leaves *i–v* and fols. 376–77 and 382–84 have the same watermark as the paper of the text. Fly-leaves 378–81 have a watermark "three crescents" with letters VG (a similar watermark is found in the abovementioned codex Sofia D. gr. 24).

SCRIPT

Written by one scribe who is identified in the Morgan internal file as Matthew, metropolitan of Myra (active 1596–1624).[48] This identification is correct and is supported by

46. Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, ed. Allan Stevenson, 4 vols. (Paris, 1907; repr. with supplementary material, Amsterdam, 1968); Gerhard Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart,* 17 vols. (Stuttgart, 1961–97); Dieter Harlfinger and Johanna Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handschriften* (Berlin, 1974); Mark Sosower, *Signa officinarum chartariarum in codicibus graecis saeculo sexto decimo fabricatis in bibliothecis Hispaniae* (Amsterdam, 2004); and Stanković. In the internal file M.656's watermarks are identified as Briquet 9696 and 5341 (dated 1572/73 and 1372 respectively), but these watermarks clearly do not match those of M.656. Briquet number 9616 (also given in the internal file and dated 1565) matches only the countermark part of the watermark.

47. Stanković, 72f. and 76f.

48. On Matthew of Myra, see Linos Politis, "Un copiste éminent du XVIIe siècle: Matthieu métropolite de Myra," in *Studia codicologica*, ed.

the similarity of M.656's decoration with that of many other manuscripts executed by Matthew (see DECORATION). Matthew of Myra was an accomplished calligrapher and artist, who copied more than fifty manuscripts during his long career. Matthew's writing style is "Wallachian" archaizing liturgical minuscule.[49] Linos Politis distinguished two types of Matthew's handwriting: one small-sized, ornate, and idiosyncratic, which Matthew employed during the first stage of his career (1596–99; the so-called "Moscow period"); the other is large rounded "baroque" style very similar to the handwriting of Luke, bishop of Buzău (also known as Luke the Cypriot), who later became the metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia.[50] This latter type of script was employed by Matthew in the Morgan codex (figs. 6 and 7).

Major titles are written in large hollow majuscules filled with gold. Subtitles are written in minuscule in bright red ink. Punctuation is in bright red ink; periods and semi-colons are enlarged (this latter feature was common in the manuscripts produced in the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and was later adopted by the scribes of the "Wallachian school").

DECORATION

The manuscript is illuminated with two elegant rectangular headpieces, 91 x 38 mm. (on fols. 1r and 326r). Both headpieces display similar ornaments: large flowers and vine

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Kurt Treu, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 124 (Berlin, 1977), 375–94; Gratziou. Gratziou's catalogue of manuscripts copied by Matthew does not include M.656.

49. On "Wallachian" writing style, see n. 24.

50. On Luke of Buzău, see Gary Vikan, "Byzance après Byzance: Luke the Cypriot, Metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia," in *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, ed. Lowell Clucas, East European Monographs, 230 (Boulder, Colo., 1988), 165–84; M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau et les centres de copie de manuscrits grecs en Moldovalachie (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)* (Athens, 1995).

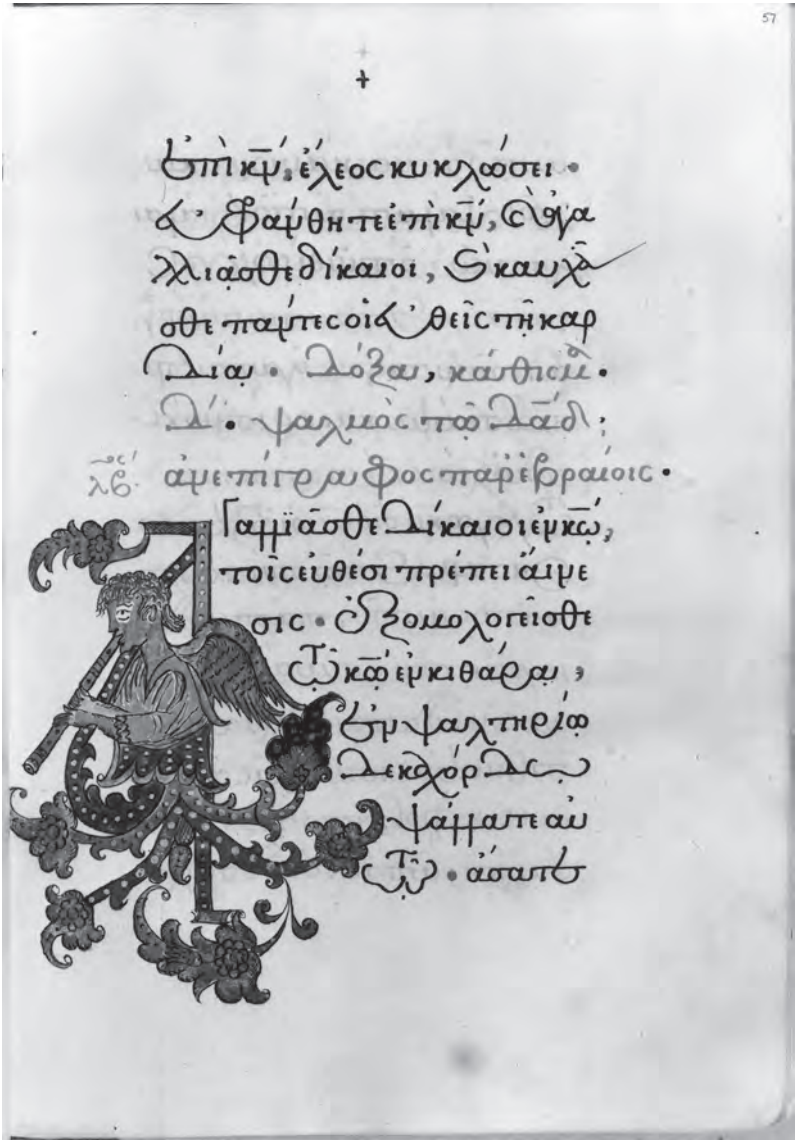

Figure 6.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.656, fol. 57r.
Gift; J.P. Morgan (1867–1943); 1924.
(By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
Photographic credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

Figure 7.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.656, fol. 8ov.
Gift; J.P. Morgan (1867–1943); 1924.
(By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
Photographic credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

motifs inside a narrow frame. The headpieces were adorned with finials and a large stylized flower on top of the frame. Besides the prominent use of gold, the palette also includes the colors green and red.

The manuscript was also decorated with one hundred-seventy-nine large illuminated initials, a "signature" ornamental feature of the manuscripts produced in the Wallachia region of Romania. Predominant motifs are large stylized flowers and vines. Many initials display zoomorphic motifs, mostly snakes and birds, but also dragons and dolphins. On fols. 57r and 124v (the beginnings of Psalms 32 and 65 respectively) there are anthropomorphic alpha initials: an angel (fol. 57r, fig. 6) and a man playing a flute (fol. 124v). On fol. 80v (the beginning of Psalm 41) there is an omicron initial with a graceful deer inside (fig. 7). The deer is standing on its hind legs, and its front legs are folded as if in prayer. On fol. 149v an epsilon initial displays a large peculiar-looking mammal (a wolf?). And on fol. 283v there is an epsilon initial adorned with a blessing hand. The end of Psalms is marked with two large marginal vegetal finials. Similar finials mark the beginning of the *Octoechos* on fol. 321r. and the end of the fourteenth hymn on fol. 374r. Gold predominates in the initials; the colors green, blue, red, orange, brown, and rose-pink are also employed. Throughout the text the initials were obviously painted before the text was written because the lines of the text closely follow the initials' outlines.

The decoration was undoubtedly executed by the scribe himself. Matthew of Myra was known to have been a superb illuminator, and he himself decorated all the manuscripts he copied. The ornamental motifs of M.656's decoration are similar to those in many manuscripts executed by him. For example, the dolphins in the initials of Athens, National Library of Greece, MS 3081 (dated 1603 and probably executed in Lvov, Ukraine) are identical to the dolphins in the initials

of M.656.[51] And the composition of the omicron initial on fol. 80v of M.656 (fig. 7) is identical to one in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Suppl. gr. 177, fol. 10v (datable to 1609–14 and executed in the Dealu Monastery).[52]

COLOPHON
None.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES
None.

BINDING
Probably original; soft light-brown sheep leather over pasteboards; paper pastedowns. Sewn at three stations. The leather on the spine is worn and cracked. Two small darker pieces of leather are glued to the spine. The letterings on these pieces are: "Psalter | in Greek | Roumania | XVII cent." and "M.656."

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE
M.656 was copied and illuminated by Matthew, metropolitan of Myra, who produced more than fifty manuscripts between 1596 and 1624, when he died. Our manuscript was probably executed between 1610 and 1624, and there are several reasons to favor this period. In 1610 Matthew retired to the Dealu Monastery in Romania, where he established a scriptorium and executed many lavishly illuminated manuscripts.[53] In addition, in M.656 Matthew employed a large "baroque" liturgical minuscule (similar to that of Luke of Bezău), a type of minuscule he only began to utilize after 1599 (see SCRIPT). Furthermore, M.656's decorative motifs are very similar to or identical with those in manuscripts pro-

51. See Gratziou, fig. 82.
52. Ibid., fig. 109.
53. Ibid., 58.

duced between 1603 and 1614, and its watermarks are similar to those in manuscripts produced in the period 1611–25.

In 1922 the manuscript was purchased by J.P. Morgan (1867-1943) in London from Sophronios Eustratiades, archbishop of Leontopolis (Egypt).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

De Ricci, 2:1480.

MS M.662A(9c)

Palimpsest: Coptic upper text (Magic Spell) with underlying Greek text (unidentified)[54]

Egypt (?), s.(?)

CONTENTS

Fol. 1r: Not identified. No title. Inc. mut.: καὶ … (the rest is illegible).

Fol. 1v: blank.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fol. 1 (mutilated), maximum size 126 x 142 mm. (one col., written surface 100 x 107 mm.). 25 lines, interlinear space 4 mm. The ruling is not discernible. The text was written on the flesh side of the parchment, which is visibly

54. This description is brief and limited to details obtainable by visual observation. The palimpsest fragment requires further examination with the help of the newest technologies in the study of palimpsests (see, for example, the description of imaging technologies used in the study of the famous Archimedes Palimpsest at http://www.archimedespalimpsest.org). Such resources were not available to me. All observations in my description pertain to the Greek text only. The Coptic superscript is described in Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library,* 2 vols. (Leuven, 1993), 1:537, cat. no. 303.

lighter then the blank hair side. The direction of natural curling of the parchment leaf confirms that the text was written on the flesh side.[55] The parchment is thin and was probably of a good or fair quality, but is now darkened by exposure and damaged by the ink, which penetrated its surface.

SCRIPT

One scribe, anonymous. Script is small-sized and vertical, apparently an early minuscule without diacritics. Some majuscule letters are present, such as kappa and nu. The ink is faded brown.

DECORATION

None for Greek text.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

None.

COLOPHON

None.

BINDING

Matted.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

Probably executed in Egypt, but not possible to identify when. The fragment was part of a lot purchased by Francis Willey Kelsey from the Cairo dealer Maurice Nahman, ca. 1920. Purchased from Kelsey in Rome by Henry Hyvernat for J.P. Morgan (1867-1943) at the beginning of the 1920s.[56]

55. Depuydt was not sure if the text was written on the flesh or hair side of the parchment: Depuydt, 1:537.

56. The provenance information is taken from Depuydt, 1:537.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library,* 2 vols. (Leuven, 1993), 1:537, cat. no. 303; 2:pl. 46.

MS M.664A(4)[57]

The Gospel of Luke, bilingual (Coptic/Greek), fragments (Aland 029)

Egypt, s.viii (?)

CONTENTS

1. fol. 1r (p. 1):[58] The Gospel of Luke, a fragment in Coptic (Luke 18:2–9).

2. fol. 1v (p. 2): The Gospel of Luke, a fragment in Greek. No title. Inc. mut.: <Ἄνθρωποι δ>//ύο ἀνέ<βησα>ν εἰς τὸ <ἱερὸ>ν προσεύ//<ξασθαι> … ; Expl. mut.: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς προσεκαλέσατο// (Luke 18:10–16).

3. fol. 2r (p. 3): The Gospel of Luke, a fragment in Coptic (Luke 18:24–32).

4. fol. 2v (p. 4): The Gospel of Luke, a fragment in Greek. No title. Inc. mut.: <καὶ ὑβρισθήσεται καὶ ἐμπτυσθή>σεται καὶ <μασ>τιγώσαν<τε>ς ἀποκτεν<οῦσι>ν αὐτόν … ; Expl. mut.: καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἀνάβλεψον// (Luke 18:32–42).

NTG, 150–246.

57. This manuscript is only described briefly here because it is discussed in great detail in Depuydt, 1:36f., cat. no. 22. All observations in my description pertain to the Greek text.

58. The fragment has modern pagination, not foliation.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 2; with modern pagination in pencil 1–4. Both folios are mutilated around the edges and the upper outer corner is torn off. The folios were restored (remargined) with modern parchment. Maximum size of original folios is 248 x 219 mm. (two cols., written surface: 177 x 140–145 [58–70 + 3–12 + 55–73] mm. on fol. 1v and 173 x 140–145 [60–67 + 7/12 + 60–67] mm. on fol. 2v).[59] Written in 28 lines, interlinear space: 6 mm. between the lines of the text, 4–6 between the ruled lines (the scribe skipped several ruled lines). Ruled Leroy 00A2 (system is not possible to restore, but it is not system 1 because fol. 2 has a secondary ruling by impression). Quires are also not possible to restore. Leo Depuydt estimated that the Morgan folios were the third and the fourth folios of a quire.[60] No quire signatures. Parchment of average quality, thin, flesh side is soiled (probably white originally) and hair side is yellowish. A follicle pattern specific to goat skin is visible on the bottom of folio 2r.

SCRIPT

One scribe, anonymous. Script is medium-sized vertical Alexandrian majuscule, also called Coptic majuscule.[61] This script is characterized by the juxtaposition of wide and narrow letters and of thick and thin strokes. Script is positioned in between and across the ruled lines and is occasionally suspended from the ruled lines. Ink is medium brown.

DECORATION

None.

59. The scribe did not abide by the left justification lines.

60. Depuydt, 1:37.

61. On this script, see Jean Irigoin, "L'Onciale grecque de type copte," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 8 (1959): 29–51; Guglielmo Cavallo, "Grammata Alexandrina," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 24 (1975): 23–54.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES
None.

COLOPHON
None.

BINDING
Matted.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE
Probably executed in Egypt in the eighth century. Once belonged to the library of the White Monastery in Egypt. Along with fifty-one other Coptic fragments, MS M.664A(4) was purchased from an Arab dealer (Ali) in Cairo in 1912 by Henry Hyvernat for J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913).[62]

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Adolphe Hebbelynck, "Les Manuscrits coptes-sahidiques du 'Monastère Blanc.' Recherches sur les fragments complémentaires de la collection Borgia," *Muséon* 31 (1912): 275–362 at 344; Clark, 161f.; Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library,* 2 vols. (Leuven, 1993), 1:36f., cat. no. 22; 2:pl. 345 (Coptic text only).

MS M.692

Lectionary of the Gospels (Aland *l* 1635)
Constantinople, s.xi$^{4/4}$

CONTENTS
Fol. 1r: originally blank; an ownership note by a modern hand (see MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES).

62. On additional information about Hyvernat's purchase of the White Monastery fragments, see Depuydt, lxix–lxxii.

Fol. 1v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist John.

258 Fol. 2r: title page for Easter and John readings, in a cruciform frame. Title: Τῇ Ἁγίᾳ καὶ Μεγάλῃ Κυριακῇ τοῦ Πάσχα. Εὐαγγέλιο(ν) ἐκ τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Ἰωάννην.

A. *The Synaxarion*, fols. 2v–213v: .

1. fols. 2v–58r: **John**, daily readings.

Fol. 58v: blank.

Lacuna between fols. 58v and 59r: a miniature of the Evangelist Matthew and the title page are missing.

2. fols. 59r–86v: **Matthew**, Saturday and Sunday readings only.

Lacuna between fols. 86v and 87r: a miniature of the Evangelist Luke is missing.

Fol. 87r: title page for Luke readings and the beginning of the new year, in a cruciform frame. Title: Σάββατον Α' τοῦ Λουκᾶ καὶ ἀρχὴ τοῦ νέου ἔτους Εὐαγγέλιο(ν).

3. fols. 87v–121r: **Luke**, Saturday and Sunday readings only.

4. fols. 121r–122v: *Vigils* (*Παννυχίδες).*

Fol. 123r: blank.

Fol. 123v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist Mark.

Fol. 124r: title page for Mark readings and the first Saturday of Lent, in a cruciform frame and with an encircled half-portrait of St. Theodore Teron in the center. Ti-

tle: Σάββατον Α᾽ τῶν νη(στείων) καὶ μνήμ(η) τοῦ ἁγίου μ(ε)γ(αλο)μάρτυρο(ς) Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τήρωνος.

Fols. 124v–138v: Lent readings (Νηστεῖαι).

5. fols. 138v–168r: Holy Week readings (Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη ἑβδομάς), excl. Washing of the Feet (Νιπτήρ).

6. fols. 168r–194v: Passions (Πάθη).

7. fols. 194v–213v: Hours (Ὧραι).

Fol. 214r: title page for the *Menologion* with a portrait of St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder on his column, in a cruciform frame; title: Ὸ ὅσιο(ς) [sic] Συμεὼν ὁ Στυλίτης.

B. *The Menologion* (slightly abridged), fols. 214v–289r.[63]

C. fols. 289v–293r: Morning Resurrection readings (Ἑωθινά).

Lacuna between fols. 292v and 293r: John 21:4–21:14.

Fol. 293v: blank.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 293, 333/340 x 233/240 mm., narrow margins indicate that the manuscript was considerably cropped (one cruciform col.; written surface: 260 x 92/95 mm. at the narrow part and 260 x 170/180 mm. at the wide part). Written in 22–23 lines (seven short lines above the horizontal, eight long lines in the middle, and eight short lines below

63. For a complete list and analysis of saints and feasts in this Menologion, see Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary*, 41–74.

the horizontal); interlinear space 11/11.5 mm. Ruled 24C/D1 Cr 1[64] (C for the wide middle part and D for the narrow part). Ruling system Leroy 1. Thirty-eight quires; collation: 1^8 (+1) $2–6^8$ 7^8 (+9) 8^8 (-1) $9–10^8$ 11^8 (-6, 7, 8) $12–15^8$ 16^8 (-6, 7, 8) $17–27^8$ 28^2 (a union) $29–32^8$ 33^8 (+9) 34^8 35^6 (a ternion) $36–37^8$ 38^8 (+9). Quire signatures are missing (probably cropped during binding). Parchment of good quality, smooth, thickness varies (mostly medium thick), white (flesh side) and yellowish (hair side), occasional traces of hair follicles. Some folios are warped.

260

SCRIPT

Written by one scribe, anonymous.[65] Each page of the lectionary is written in the shape of a cross. Ink is light brown and medium brown. *Kalamos* is medium thick. Ekphonetic notation is in magenta ink. The script is large, rounded, almost vertical with slight inclination to the right. Its static appearance is enlivened by many flourishes, especially in bottom margins. Often an abbreviation for καί has a large flourish in the bottom margin, and some of these flourishes are ornamented with small petals and crosses. Such forms of καί-abbreviation were quite fashionable in the last quarter of the eleventh century and can be found in many manuscripts produced during this period. The script of M.692

64. Julien Leroy and Jacques-Hubert Sautel did not codify ruling patterns for manuscripts written in the cruciform shape: Julien Leroy, *Les Types de réglure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1976); Jacques-Hubert Sautel, *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin*, Bibliologia, 13 (Turnhout, 1995). I have proposed adding Cr 1 (for single verticals that form a crux) or Cr 2 (for double verticals) after a basic Leroy formula to describe such ruling patterns: Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Greek Manuscripts at Dumbarton Oaks: Codicological and Paleographic Description and Analysis," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996): 289–312 at 291.

65. See images of M.692's many folios in Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary,* and on the Morgan Library and Museum website.

can be characterized as liturgical minuscule, which was widely used in the second half of the eleventh and very beginning of the twelfth century, especially for lectionaries. This script is derived from *Perlschrift*, but has its own distinctive features. *Perlschrift* is smaller, more fluid, and more letters are connected; by contrast, in liturgical minuscule the letter rho is often not connected with a following vowel, and the ligature epsilon-iota is often replaced with a narrow majuscule epsilon and an iota written separately. Liturgical minuscule is large, and some letters are especially large—for example, zeta, majuscule kappa, xi, and phi. Liturgical minuscule was used predominantly in lectionaries, psalters, and menologia that were read during church services, and the above-mentioned paleographic features made it easier for an *anagnostes* (reader) to follow the text.

The scribe of M.692 was an accomplished professional calligrapher undoubtedly trained in Constantinople. His handwriting lacks individual peculiarities and is very similar to the scripts of many deluxe Constantinopolitan lectionaries produced in the last quarter of the eleventh century, such as Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, MS 587m; Moscow, State Historical Museum, MS Synod. 511 (written entirely in gold); Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, MS 2; and Morgan Library and Museum, MSS M.639 and M.647.[66]

66. On Dionysiou 587m, see Mary-Lyon Dolezal, "Illuminating the Liturgical Word: Text and Image in a Decorated Lectionary (Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587)," *Word & Image* 12 (1996): 23–60; Stylianos M. Pelekanidis et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos*: *Illuminated Manuscripts, Miniatures, Headpieces, Initial Letters,* 2 vols. (Athens, 1974–75), 1:434–46 and figs. 189–277. On Synod. 511, see Kavrus, "Imperatorskii scriptoria," 134–42 at 139f.; Vasilii G. Putsko, "Konstantinopol'skii 'Zolotoi Kodeks' Uspenskogo Sobora Moskovskogo Kremlia," in *Monfokon. Issledovaniia po paleografii, kodikologii i diplomatike* (Moscow and St. Petersburg, 2007), 116–37. On Venice, Istituto Ellenico, MS 2, see Boris L. Fonkitch, "Notes paléographiques sur les manuscrits grecs des biblio-

Another related manuscript is St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS gr. 214 (a Psalter), which was probably executed ca. 1078 in Constantinople for Michael VII Doukas (emperor 1071–78) or for his successor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (emperor 1078–81), who married Michael's wife, Maria, in 1078. The Psalter opens with an initial M formed by standing figures of an emperor and of his wife Maria, and of a young boy, Constantine, son of Michael.[67] The figure of the emperor is extensively flaked. Two remaining inscriptions identify Maria and Constantine. The script of St. Petersburg gr. 214 is similar to that of M.692, and some of its folios are written in the shape of a cross.

There are two other lectionaries with the entire text written in the shape of a cross and in the same writing style as M.692. They are London, British Library, Add. MS 39603, and Mount Athos, Iveron Monastery, MS 1404. The text is also written in the shape of a cross on most folios of the lectionary Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, MS 1. The scripts of these manuscripts are very similar to that of M.692, and the copyist of the Iveron codex is probably the same scribe who copied M.692.[68]

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thèques italiennes," *Thesaurismata* 16 (1979): 153–69 at 158f and pls. 6–9. On MSS M.639 and M.647, see Part IV.1 of the present catalogue. On this group of manuscripts and the center where they were produced, see Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "A Byzantine Scriptorium of the Second Half of the Eleventh Century," in *Nineteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* (Princeton, 1993), 77–78; Irmgard Hutter, "*Le Copiste du Métaphraste:* On a Center for Manuscript Production in Eleventh Century Constantinople," in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*, 2:535–86 at 564f.

67. On St. Petersburg gr. 214, see Vera D. Likhachova, *Iskusstvo knigi. Konstantinopol, XI vek* (Moscow, 1976), 42–50; Kavrus, "Imperatorskii scriptorii," 135f.; and Rossiiskaia Natsionalnaia Biblioteka, *Grecheskie rukopisi III–XX vv. Katalog vystavki, 27oktiabria–10 noiabria 2006 g.* (St. Petersburg, 2006), 46f.

68. On these codices, see Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary,* chapter 4; Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Greek Manuscripts at Dumbarton

Many scholars have attributed all of the above-mentioned manuscripts related to M.692 to the last quarter of the eleventh century and have identified Constantinople as their place of production. But Jeffrey Anderson has assigned M.692, together with the three other cruciform lectionaries noted above, to the second quarter or middle of the twelfth century.[69] His attribution was questioned by Mary-Lyon Dolezal, who observed that "cod. add. 39603 … has ornament and script more analogous to the deluxe lectionaries of the late eleventh century."[70] Irmgard Hutter as well linked M.692 with the manuscripts produced in the final phase of an eleventh-century center in Constantinople.[71] I agree with Dolezal and Hutter and do not find paleographic evidence in M.692 to support Anderson's attribution. All available evidence from securely dated manuscripts points to the last quarter of the eleventh century as the most likely period of M.692's production.

DECORATION[72]

M.692 is a lavishly illuminated codex. The manuscript originally had four Evangelist portraits of which only two—John (fol. 1v), and Mark (fol. 123v)—remain. Each section of the Synaxarion and the beginning of the Menologion open with a title page decorated with a full-page ornamented cross.

Oaks," 289–96; Athanasios A. Karakatsanes, ed., *Thesauroi tou Hagiou Orous* (Thessaloniki, 1997), 233f.

69. Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary,* chapter 5; see also Anderson's entry in Helen Evans and William D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261* (New York, 1997), 107, cat. no. 61.

70. Mary-Lyon Dolezal, review of *The New York Cruciform Lectionary*, by Jeffrey C. Anderson, *Speculum* 69 (1994): 731–33 at 732.

71. Hutter, "*Le Copiste du Métaphraste*," 570.

72. Decoration is described only briefly here. For a detailed and comprehensive description and analysis of decoration, see Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary*.

A title is written inside in large epigraphic distinguishing majuscules of so-called "Schnörkelschrift" type, which was used in liturgical manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[73] There are also thirty-three marginal miniatures, twelve headpieces, and numerous ornamented initials. On each page the cruciform text is decorated with finials in the shape of palmettes in bright blue or magenta. The finials are very similar to those in St. Petersburg gr. 214 mentioned above in SCRIPT.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

Several ownership notes by modern hands. The most important is on fol. 2r and was signed by the patriarch of Constantinople Konstantinos in 1835. The note states that the patriarch assigned this codex to the Church of St. George in the Cypresses.[74]

COLOPHON

None.

BINDING

Modern (1947) dark brown blind-tooled morocco over wooden boards by Marguerite Duprez Lahey.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

The Morgan Cruciform Lectionary was most likely produced in the last quarter of the eleventh century in Constantinople. The large size, cruciform text, and lavishness of the decoration suggest a special commission by a wealthy patron. The manuscript was certainly executed for a major church or cathedral to be read from the ambo.

73. On this type of distinguishing majuscule, see Hunger, "Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel," 199f.

74. For the text of this and other notes, see Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary,* 14.

The manuscript probably remained in Constantinople, but its ownership and location are not known until 1835. At this time M.692 became the property of the patriarchal Church of St. George in the Cypresses in Istanbul (notes on fols. 1r and 2r). The manuscript was purchased by the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1925 from the dealer Mitchell Kennerley.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

De Ricci, 2: 1483 (dates MS ca. 1200); Clark, 162–66 (with previous bibliography) and plate XXXI (attributes MS to s.xiii); Jeffrey C. Anderson in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 134f, cat. no. 35 (with previous bibliography) and figs. 60–62 (attributes MS to s.xii[1]); Ursula Wolf, *Die Parabel vom reichen Prasser und armen Lazarus in der mittelalterlichen Buchmalerei* (Munich, 1989), 34f., 249, and fig. 10; Kurt Weitzmann and George Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai*: *The Illuminated Manuscripts*, vol. 1, *From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 24 (attribute MS to s.xi–s.xii); Jeffrey C. Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary* (University Park, Pa., 1992) (attributes MS to s.xii[1]); Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "A Byzantine Scriptorium of the Second Half of the Eleventh Century," *Nineteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* (Princeton, 1993), 77–78; Mary-Lyon Dolezal, review of *The New York Cruciform Lectionary*, by Jeffrey C. Anderson, *Speculum* 69 (1994): 731–33; Jeffrey C. Anderson, catalogue entry for M.692 in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261,* ed. Helen Evans and William D. Wixom (New York, 1997), 107, cat. no. 61 (attributes MS to ca. 1125–50); Irmgard Hutter, "*Le Copiste du Métaphraste*: On a Center for Manuscript Production in Eleventh Century Constantinople," in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*: *Atti del V Colloquio internazionale di paleografia greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998),* ed. Giancarlo Prato, 3 vols. (Florence, 2000), 2: 535–86 at 570; Karin Krause, *Die*

illustrierten Homilien des Johannes Chrysostomos in Byzanz (Wiesbaden, 2004), 33, 34, 51–52, 100, 111, 150.

MS M.714

New Testament, a fragment (Aland 1795)
Constantinople, s.xii$^{1/4}$

CONTENTS

1. fols. 1r–1v: **Athanasios, archbishop of Alexandria**, *Synopsis scripturae sacrae*. Title (fol. 1r): Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς. Inc. (fol. 1r): Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας … ; Expl. (fol. 1v, line 10): … καὶ πείσας τιμᾶν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. Τελειοῖ τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

   PG, 28:424, line 33–425, line 5.

2. fols. 1v–2v: List of chapter titles for the Epistle to Hebrews (1–22). Title (fol. 1v, line 11): Κεφάλαια τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς. Inc. (fol. 1v, line 12): α᾽ Θεολογία Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐν δόξῃ πατρὸς καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ … ; Expl. (fol. 2v, line 18): κβ᾽ Εὐχὴ πρὸς Θ(εὸ)ν περὶ τῆς εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀγωγῆς καὶ οἰκονομίας.

   Soden, 468f.

3. fols. 2v–19r: Epistle to the Hebrews. Title (fol. 2v, line 19): Πρὸ(ς) Ἑβραίους. Inc. (fol. 2v, line 20): Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ θ(εὸ)ς λαλήσας … ; Expl. (fol. 19r): … ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. Πρὸς Ἑβραίους. ἐγράφη ἀπὸ τῆς ‘Ιταλίας διὰ Τιμοθέου. Στίχ(οι) ΨΓ᾽.

   NTG, 562-587.

4. fols. 19v–46r: Book of Revelation (Apocalypsis). Title (fol. 19v): Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως. Inc. (fol. 19v): Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός … ; Expl. (fol. 46r): … Λέγει ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα, ναί, ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Ἀμήν. Ναὶ, ἔρχου, κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ. Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. Ἀμήν. Τέλο(ς) τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Θεολόγου.

   NTG, 632-680.

Fol. 46v: erased and illegible text, probably an original colophon (see SCRIPT and COLOPHON).

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 46 (modern foliation: newer 1–46 and older 228–73), six modern paper fly-leaves, three in the beginning (foliated *i–iii*) and three at the end (foliated 47–49); 280/283 x 190/193 mm. (one col.; written surface 187/192 x 126/130 mm.). Written in 28 lines, interlinear space 7 mm. Ruled Leroy 32C1. Ruling system Leroy 1. Ruled with thin dry point; ruled lines are quite faint. Pricking is in the shape of medium sized triangles and slits. Six quires; collation: $1–5^8\,6^6$ (a ternion). The first five quires are signed in the lower right corner of the first recto of each quire (κζ'–λα'). Thus the six quires were the twenty-seventh through thirty-second quires of the original manuscript. The signatures are non-scribal and written in grayish-brown ink different from the ink of the text. Parchment of very good quality, thin to medium thick, somewhat warped. The flesh side is white; the hair side is ivory-white. Water stains are in the outer upper corner and the outer margin of most folios (the last quire, fols. 41–46, was especially damaged by water).

SCRIPT

One scribe, monk Michael. The name of the scribe was deciphered by Sofia Kotzabassi and Nancy Ševčenko in the semi-erased colophon of Princeton, Princeton University

Library, Garrett MS 5.[75] The Princeton manuscript was copied by the same hand as M.714 and is the first part (Four
268 Gospels) of a complete New Testament. M.714 is a fragment of the second part (see ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE).

The script of Michael is a small, rounded, highly controlled upright minuscule (fig. 8). The upper and lower strokes of most letters are reduced. Many letters are enlarged, especially zeta, phi, psi, upsilon in the shape of a shallow or a deep bowl, and majuscule beta, delta, epsilon, kappa, and lambda. Tall majuscule gamma and tau each have a long horizontal stroke. The horizontal stroke of tall majuscule gammas is longer than the vertical stroke. Double majuscule gammas are always formed with the first smaller gamma connected with the second taller gamma (see fig. 8, lines 7 and 14 from the top). Such double gammas are found in many manuscripts executed in the twelfth century—for example, in Oxford, Christ Church College, MS gr. 24, and in M.378 from the Morgan Library and Museum.[76] Majuscule epsilon is sometimes enlarged and has an extended middle bar, which is connected with the following letter. A diminutive superscript alpha is often connected with rho that is open on the left. A short diminutive tau is sometimes placed above a closed form of omega. Additionally, two letters with round bodies are often "glued" together, such as omicron-phi and phi-omega. This latter feature is typical for manuscripts executed in the twelfth century. Many majuscule forms are inserted into the minuscule. Some rough breathings are square. M.714 was copied in a medium brown ink, and the scribe used a medium

75. See Kotzabassi, Ševčenko, and Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*.

76. See, for example, double majuscule gamma in Christ Church gr. 24: Irmgard Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, vol. 4, *Oxford, Christ Church* (Stuttgart, 1993), 4.2:fig. 498, line 1. On M.378, see Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Catalogue … Part IV.1: The Morgan Library and Museum," *Manuscripta* 52 (2008), 65–174 at 89–101.

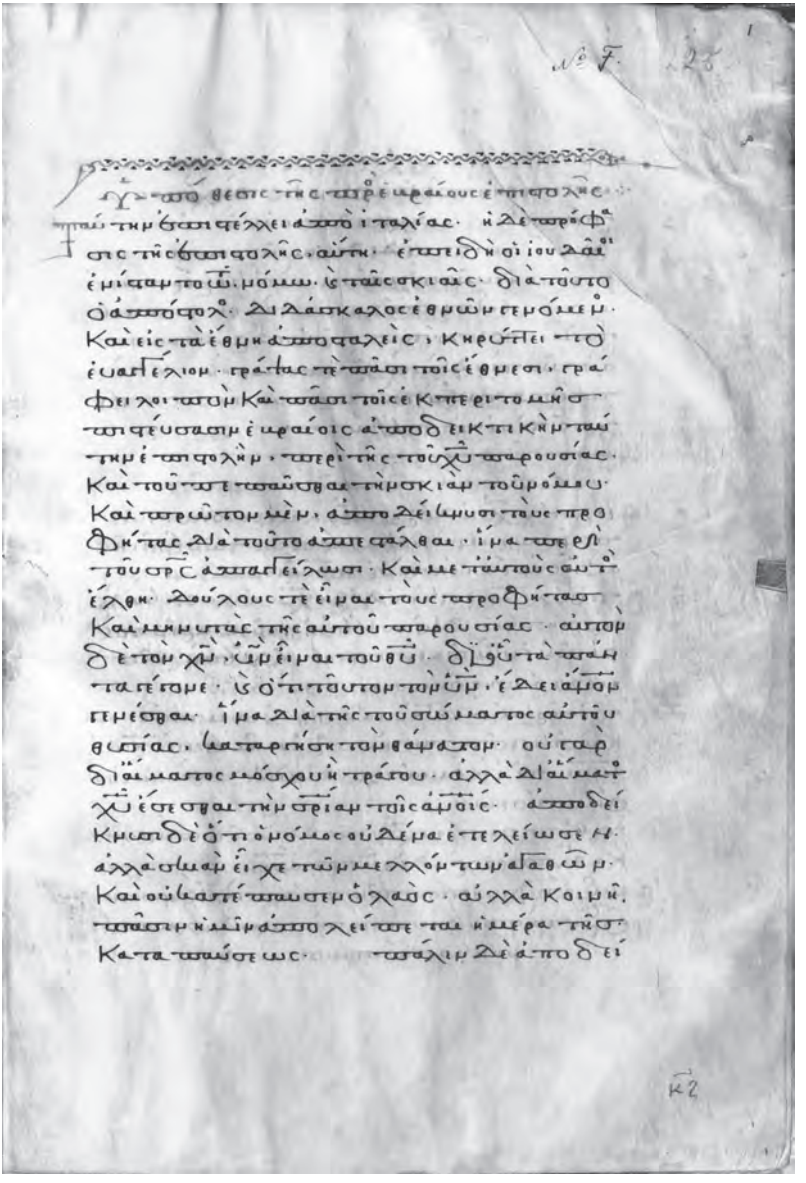

Figure 8.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.714, fol. 228r.
Gift; Herman C. Hoskier; Dec. 23, 1926.
(By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
Photographic credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

thin *kalamos*. The major titles, initials, chapter numbers, titles and lection notes in margins, and ἀρχή and τέλος inside
270 the text are written in magenta ink.

Michael's script belongs to an important transitional period in the evolution of the Byzantine minuscule. According to Paul Canart and Lidia Perria, it was a period of the "dissolution" of *Perlschrift* as a calligraphic ideal. New styles and tendencies were influenced by cursive scripts and especially by the "baroque" style of the period's imperial chancery.[77] Using Canart and Perria's classification, I would characterize Michael's script as "stylized rounded cursive," similar to that of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 645.[78]

Michael's handwriting is closely related to that in many manuscripts produced in the first quarter of the twelfth century. Some of these manuscripts are securely dated or can be confidently attributed to this period. The most important related manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 384, a *Typikon* of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene (wife of Alexios I Komnenos, empress 1081–1118) for the Convent of the Mother of God Kecharitomene in Constantinople. The *Typikon* is the original document signed by the Empress. It can be securely dated to ca. 1110 because it refers to a living patriarch, Nikolaos III Grammatikos, who died in 1111.[79] The script of the *Typikon,* although not identical with Michael's, displays many similar features,

77. Paul Canart and Lidia Perria, "Les Écritures livresques des XIe et XIIe siècles," in *Paleografia e codicologia greca*: *Atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino-Wolfenbüttel 17–21 ottobre 1983),* ed. Dieter Harlfinger and Giancarlo Prato with Marco D'Agostino and Alberto Doda, 2 vols. (Alexandria, 1991), 1:67–116 at 88.

78. Ibid., 1:89–90 and 2:57, pl. 5a.

79. Paul Gautier, "Le Typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè," *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985): 5–165; for an English translation and description of the Typikon, see *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*,

such as the letters zeta and xi, bowl-shaped upsilon, and alpha-rho with diminutive superscript alpha connected to an open form of rho.[80] The writing style of the *Typikon* is the same "stylized rounded cursive" as that of Michael. The *Typikon* was most likely executed in the imperial chancery where this style very probably originated.

The handwritings of documents issued in the imperial chancery in the first decades of the twelfth century display many features found in the scripts of M.714 and Paris. gr. 384. These features include ligature epsilon-xi, a short diminutive tau placed above a closed form of omega, and two or three letters with round bodies that are "glued" together. Examples of documents include a Chrysobull of Alexios I executed in 1109 (now in Mount Athos, Great Lavra) and a Sigillion of Niketas Katakalon issued between 1097 and 1109 (now at Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian). These documents display many paleographic features very similar to those of the scribe Michael.[81] Thus, paleographic evidence strongly supports the first quarter of the twelfth century as the most likely date of the production of M.714.

Another manuscript, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 666, was copied by a scribe whose handwriting is closely related to that of M.714. The Vatican codex is a copy of *Panoplia Dogmatica* composed by Euthymios Zygabenos for Emperor Alexios I Komnenos

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ed. John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, 5 vols., Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 35 (Washington, D.C., 2000), 2:649-724.

80. See the handwriting sample in Henri A. Omont, *Facsimilés des plus anciens manuscrits grecs, en onciale et en minuscule, de la Bibliothèque nationale, du IVe au XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1892), pl. 49.

81. See handwriting samples of these documents in Guglielmo Cavallo, "Scritture informali, cambio grafico e pratiche librarie a Bisanzio tra i secoli XI e XII," in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*, 1:219–38 and 3:pl. 10b and 11a.

(ruled 1081–1118).[82] Georgi Parpulov argues that this codex was copied by Michael, the same scribe who copied M.714.[83]

Indeed, the two scripts are very similar, but there are notable differences. In comparison to Michael's handwriting, the Vatican scribe displays a less controlled, more relaxed, and fluid hand with many flourishes. And some elements regularly found in the script of Vat. gr. 666, such as consonants placed inside an enlarged omicron (so-called "inclusions" typical for many scripts of this period), are not found in M.714. I believe more research and detailed paleographic analysis of the two scripts are needed to account for these differences. But these two manuscripts were almost surely produced in the same place and at the same time, most likely in the first quarter of the twelfth century.

DECORATION

The manuscript lacks decoration, except for a few division bars at the beginnings and endings.

COLOPHON

There used to be a colophon on fol. 46v, which is now completely erased. The colophon occupied about three quar-

82. On Vat. gr. 666, see Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson, "The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982): 123–83 at 149–51; Jeffrey C. Anderson, "The Illustrated Sermons of James the Monk: Their Dates, Order, and Place in the History of Byzantine Art," *Viator* 22 (1991): 69–120, fig. 13; and Ioannis Spatharakis, "Three Portraits of the Early Comnenian Period," in Ioannis Spatharakis, *Studies in Byzantine Manuscript Illumination and Iconography* (London, 1996), 18–40 at 28–32.

83. Georgi R. Parpulov, "The Presentation Copies of the Panoplia Dogmatica (Mosq. Syn. gr. 387, Vat. gr. 666)," in *Paleografia i kodikologia: 300 let posle Monfokona. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii. Moskva, 14–16 maia 2008 g.* (Moscow, 2008), 124–27, and "The Presentation Copies of the Panoplia Dogmatica (Moscow, Gos. Ist. Muz., Syn. Gr. 387; Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 666," in *Thirty-Fourth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2008), 84f.

ters of the page. Its text is not legible under ultraviolet light. Few letters are still visible, and two starlets mark the end of this text. The starlets were drawn in the same magenta ink as the initials and marginal apparatus. I conclude that this text was written by the scribe of the manuscript and was an original colophon. It was most likely erased by unscrupulous dealers who wanted to conceal the manuscript's origin. It is to be hoped that future sophisticated technology will enable scholars to read this colophon.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

On fol. 4or there is a short marginal commentary with many abbreviations by a later (s.xiii?) hand, in grayish-brown ink (probably the same ink as that of the quire signatures): "Καὶ ἵππ(ων) καὶ ῥεδ(ῶν) καὶ σωμάτ(ων). Καὶ τούτ(ων) ἡ χρῆσις φη(σίν) περισσή. διὰ δὲ τοῦ ῥεδ(ῶν) τὰ ὀχήματα εἰκὸς σημαίνεσθαι· ῥεδίουμ (sic) γὰρ Ῥωμαϊστὶ τὸ ὄχημα" (Andreas, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, *Commentarii in Apocalypsin,* 19:55, sec. 18, 13b, line 3).[84]

BINDING

Modern brown morocco leather over 4 mm.-thick wooden boards by Marguerite Duprez Lahey (1878–1958). On the spine is the lettering "APOC. MS XI CENT." Sewn at five stations. Modern paper pastedowns (same as the fly-leaves).

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

M.714 was once part of a complete New Testament manuscript copied by one scribe. The Four Gospels are now Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett MS 5, and the Praxapostolos (Acts and Epistles) is Sofia, Ivan Dujčev

84. The commentary is published by J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, vol.1, *Text [und] Einleitung*, Münchener theologische Studien, 1 (Munich, 1955), 1–268.

Center, MS D. gr. 369.[85] Dujčev 369 ends with the Epistle to Philemon on fol. 227v, and M.714 starts with the Epistle to the Hebrews on fol. 228r (according to the old foliation; in the new foliation it is 1r). Thus. codices Dujčev 369 and M.714 originally comprised one manuscript (formerly Kosinitza 53) and constituted the second volume of the complete New Testament. It is also possible that all three parts were originally bound together.

The paleographic evidence presented above confirms that the Morgan fragment, the Dujčev manuscript, and Princeton Garrett 5 were executed in the first quarter of the twelfth century in Constantinople. The stylistic analysis of the decoration made by Nancy Ševčenko for the Princeton codex corroborates this date and localization.

Nothing is known about the subsequent history of the manuscript until the late nineteenth century. In 1879 the Four Gospels and Praxapostolos were at the Kosinitza Monastery in Northern Greece (Prefecture of Serres), and the Four Gospels were donated by the abbot Nikephoros to the Russian Skete of St. Andrew on Mount Athos.[86] The Praxapostolos was apparently taken by Bulgarians to Sofia in 1917, together with other manuscripts of the Kosinitza Monastery. At some point the last six quires were detached from the Praxapostolos, and the fragment found its way to dealers. In 1919 the fragment was acquired by Jantsch in Sofia and was purchased by Herman C. Hoskier from Jantsch in the same year. The fragment was given to the Morgan Library by Hoskier in 1926.

85. On Garrett 5, see Kotzabassi, Ševčenko, and Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*. On Dujčev 369, see Axinia Džurova, "Le Praxapostol Cod. Dujcev 369, l'Epitre aux Juifs et l'Apocalypse Cod. 714 de Pierpont Morgan Library = Olim Kos. 53," *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995): 471–82.

86. Kotzabassi, Ševčenko, and Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*.

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Heinrich J. Vogels, *Codicum Novi Testamenti specimina* (Bonn, 1929), 6 and pl. 12; *Review of the Growth*, 48 (attributes MS to ca. 1075 without explanation); De Ricci, 2:1487 (attributes MS to s.xi); Clark, 166f. and pl. 32 (attributes MS to s.xii–s.xiii); Basiles Atsalos, *Ta cheirographa tes Ieras Mones tes Kosinitsas (e Eikosiphoinissas tou Pangaiou* (Drama, 1990), 44f.; Georgiou K. Papazoglou, *Ta cheirographa tes Eikosiphoinisses (katalogoi kai katagraphes)* (Athens, 1991), 102 and pl. 16; Axinia Džurova, "Le Praxapostol Cod. Dujcev 369, l'Epitre aux Juifs et l'Apocalyse Cod. 714 de Pierpont Morgan Library = Olim Kos. 53," *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995), 471–82; Basiles Katsaros, *Ta cheirographa ton monon Timiou Prodromou Serron kai Panagias Acheiropoietou tou Pangaiou (Kosinitsas). E istoria ton arithmon* (Serres, 1995), 228; Kotzabassi, Ševčenko, and Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*.

MS M.745 (a palimpsest)

Manuel Moschopoulos. *Erotemata grammatica* (upper text), beginning missing

Constantinople, St. John the Baptist Petra Monastery (Prodromos Petra), s.xv[1]

Septuaginta (under text), fragments

s.xi

CONTENTS

Upper text

Fols. 1r–96v: **Manuel Moschopoulos**, *Erotemata grammatica,* beginning missing. No title. Inc. mut. (fol. 1r): οἶ(ον) πύρινος, λίθινος, δρύϊνος … ; Expl. (fol. 96v): ὅτε τυφόμενος, ὁ κανὼν, πᾶν παθητικὸν.

Grammaticae artis graecae methodus Manuele Moschopulo authore (Basel, 1540).

Underlying text
Septuaginta, fragments (partially legible).[87]

Fol. 1v, first line: Ezekiel, 18:13, 1.

Fol. 2v, last line: Ezekiel, 48:16, 2.

Fol. 9r, first line: Ezekiel, 40:38, 2.

Fol. 14r, first line: Ezekiel, 41:12, 3.

Fol. 18r, first line: Susanna, 60:2.

Fol. 23r, first line: Susanna, 45:1.

Fol. 31v, first line: Daniel, 10:15, 2.

Fol. 43r, last line: Daniel, 3:36, 2.

Fol. 62r, last two lines: Susanna, 36:2.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION
Parchment; fols. 96; 159/161 x 115/120 mm. (one col.; written surface for the upper text 115/123 x 78/80 mm.). Written in 17–19 lines, interlinear space 7 mm. The lines of the upper text are positioned in between the lines of the underlying text. The scribe of the upper text used an old ruling made for the original manuscript, which was apparently

87. The underlying text was initially identified as fragments of the Septuagint and the New Testament (Davis and Orioli sale catalogue 36, 1923, no. 10; De Ricci, 2:1494; Clark, 167), and the palimpsest received Gregory-Aland number 2385 (Aland, 184). Annaclara Cataldi Palau conducted a thorough examination of this manuscript and found no fragments of the New Testament in the underlying text. I thank Dr. Cataldi Palau for sharing with me her unpublished description of M.745 and identification of the underlying text, which I reproduce here with her permission.

much larger (approximately 320 x 240 mm; the original bifolia were cut in two parts, and each part became a bifolium for a new manuscript). The ruling pattern can be restored as Leroy 32C2. The ruling system (probably Leroy 1) was made on the hair side. According to the quire signatures there were fourteen quires of which only twelve remain; the first two quires are missing (the first quire signature is gamma). Collation: $1–12^{8}$. Quire signatures were written by the scribe in the lower right corner on the recto of each quire. The composition of the quires is unusual: the hair side is on the outside of each quire, and the flesh side of each bifolium faces the hair side of another bifolium, which violates "Gregory's rule."[88] Parchment is of poor quality, thick, and smooth; there is a strong contrast between the white flesh side and brownish-yellow hair side; a distinctive goat skin follicle pattern is clearly visible, with many traces of hair follicles.

SCRIPT

Upper text

One scribe, anonymous. His handwriting is small-sized cursive script, with a slight inclination to the right (fig. 9). Distinctive letters include a heart-shaped beta with left vertical stroke extended below the body of the letter, tall xi (vertical or with slight inclination to the left), tall narrow lunate sigma with a small hook at the bottom, and tall tau in two different forms: one with a sharp apex and a straight vertical stroke, and the other with a rounded "hook" at the top and bottom. Iota subscript and a single dot above iotas and upsilons are used regularly. Ink is dark brown and charcoal. Initials in margins and inside the text are in pale pinkish ink.

88. In Greek manuscripts the bifolia were usually folded in such a way that the flesh side of the parchment is on the outside of a quire. On "Gregory's rule," see n. 36.

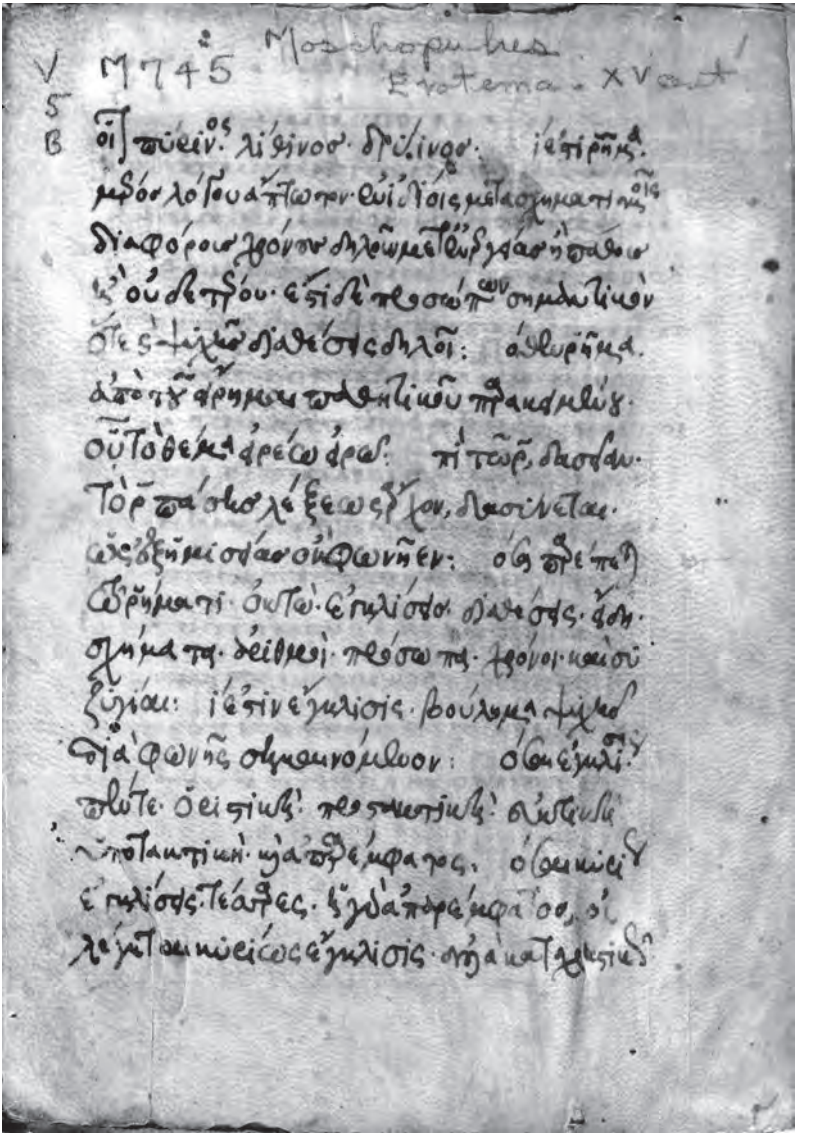

Figure 9.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.745, fol. 1r
(By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
Photographic credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

The script is similar to that employed by three scribes who worked in the scriptorium of St. John the Baptist Petra Monastery (Prodromos Petra Monastery) in Constantinople in the first half of the fifteenth century: Georgios Baiophoros, who copied many palimpsest manuscripts of Moschopoulos's *Erotemata* or *Schedographia*;[89] Leon Atrapes, who copied Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS gr. 440 in 1426;[90] and Stephanos, the metropolitan of Medeia.[91] The anonymous scribe of M.745 very probably worked in this scriptorium in the same period. The first scholar to ascribe M.745 to Baiophoros's scriptorium at the St. John the Baptist Petra Monastery was Neil Moran.[92]

Under text

On most folios the script is small-sized *Perlschrift* of the eleventh century, apparently by one hand.[93] At least two folios were taken from different manuscripts: on fol. 30r–v

89. On Baiophoros and his scriptorium, see Ernst Gamillscheg, "Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung byzantinischer Schulbücher," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinistik* 26 (1977): 211–30, "Zur Geschichte einer Gregor-von-Nazianz-Handschrift (Basil. A. VII. 1 = gr. 34)," *Codices manuscripti* 5 (1979): 104–14, and "Die Handschriftenliste des Johannes Chortasmenos im Oxon. Aed. Chr. 56," *Codices manuscripti* 7 (1981): 52–56; Annaclara Cataldi Palau, "Un nuovo manoscritto palinsesto di Giorgio Baiophoros," in *Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio*: *Atti del Convegno 21–24 aprile 2004*, ed. Santo Lucà (Rome, forthcoming), and "I colleghi di Giorgio Baiophoros: Stefano di Medea, Giorgio Crisococca, Leon Atrapes," in *Praktika tou 6' Diethnous Symposiou Ellenikes Palaiographias*, 1:191–224**.** I thank Annaclara Cataldi Palau for sending me her unpublished articles on George Baiophoros and his associates.

90. Vogel and Gardthausen, 261; *RGK,* 2:no. 328 and 3:no. 383.

91. Vogel and Gardthausen, 403f. and 405; *RGK,* 1:no. 366; 2:no. 503; and 3:no. 584; *PLP,* 11: no. 26779.

92. Neil K. Moran, "Palim-Moschopulea," *Codices manuscripti* 10 (1984): 85–86.

93. On *Perlschrift*, see Herbert Hunger, *Studien zur griechischen Paläographie* (Vienna, 1954), 22–32.

the script is *maiuscola ogivale diritta*,[94] and on fol. 44r–v the script is probably thirteenth-century minuscule with en-
280 larged betas. The underlying text on these folios has not been identified.

DECORATION
None.

COLOPHON
None.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES
On fol. 27r, in the bottom margin, there is a note in Latin in light charcoal ink, "Franciscus de Rov<ereto?>," probably the name of an Italian owner.

BINDING
The binding is a limp goat parchment leaf with ties. The leaf has text on both sides in small-sized Latin cursive, identified in the internal file as "a deed in Latin with some Italian interpolations referring to legal decisions at Macerata under the rule of Francesco Sforza (1433–45) and Pope Eugene IV." The manuscript is sewn at three stations. It is not known if the manuscript was bound in the scriptorium of the Petra Monastery using an Italian deed, or if the manuscript was bound by the owner in Italy.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE
The similarity of M.745's script to the handwriting of Georgios Baiophoros and his associates indicates that this palimpsest was produced in Constantinople in the first half of the fifteenth century, in the scriptorium of the St. John the Baptist Petra Monastery (Prodromos Petra Monastery).

94. On this writing style, see Edoardo Crisci, "La maiuscola ogivale diritta: Origini, tipologie, dislocazioni," *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985): 103–45.

At the time Italians were increasingly interested in learning Greek and collecting Greek manuscripts.[95] Some Italian scholars—such as Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481)—traveled to Constantinople to study Greek and buy manuscripts. Greek grammar manuscripts by Moschopoulos were especially popular. To meet the increasing demand, Baiophoros and his colleagues used old parchment manuscripts as writing material for new grammar books by washing and bleaching the previous texts. Most manuscripts produced by Baiophoros and his colleagues are palimpsests.

M.745 was almost surely commissioned by one of the Italian scholars interested in learning Greek. Franciscus de Rov<ereto?>, whose name appears in the bottom margin of fol. 27r, was a very likely original owner. The manuscript probably remained in Italy until it was offered for sale by Davis and Orioli booksellers[96]: Catalogues 36 (1923), no. 7; 40 (1924), no. 4; and 44 (1926), no. 10; sold in August 1926 to Wilfrid M. Voynich; purchased by J.P. Morgan (1867-1943) from Voynich in 1929.

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Review of the Growth, 49; De Ricci, 2:1494; Clark, 167; Neil K. Moran, "Palim-Moschopulea," *Codices manuscripti* 10 (1984): 85–86; W. Neuhauser, review of Moran, "Palim-Moschopulea," *Scriptorium* 40 (1986): 143* n. 627; Annac-

95. See Annaclara Cataldi Palau, "Learning Greek in Fifteenth-Century Constantinople," in *Studies in Greek Manuscripts* (Spoleto, forthcoming). I thank Annaclara Cataldi Palau for sending me a draft copy of this chapter.

96. A note in the internal file for this manuscript displayed on the Morgan Library's website reads: "According to Mrs. B. Englefeldt … this MS was formerly cod. 2385 in Kosinitza monastery." This was apparently a misunderstanding by Mrs. Englefeld. The number 2385 was given by Caspar Rene Gregory (and later by Kurt Aland) to M.745's underlying text of the New Testament. But there is no evidence that M.745 was at any time in the Kosinitza monastery.

lara Cataldi Palau, "Un nuovo manoscritto palinsesto di Giorgio Baiophoros," in *Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione,*
282 *restauro digitale, studio*: *Atti del Convegno 21–24 aprile 2004*, ed. Santo Lucà (Rome, forthcoming), n. 23.

MS M.748[97]

The Four Gospels ("Kerasous Gospels") (Aland 2386)
Central Greek Macedonia (Mount Athos or Thessaloniki), 1133 (date derived from the scribal note about solar eclipse)

CONTENTS

1. fols. 1r–2r (first col.): List of Gospel readings for the movable feasts, beginning is missing. Inc. (fol. 1r): Κυ(ριακῇ) θ' Μ(ατ)θ(αῖος) ρμη'. Ἠνάγκασεν τ(έλος) Γεννησαρέτ (Matthew 14:22–34); Expl. (fol. 2r, first col.): Εὐ(αγ)γ(έλιον) τῆς λειτ(ουργίας) τνβ'. Ὀψὲ σαββάτ(ων) τ(έλος) ἀμήν (Matthew 28:1–20).

2. fols. 2r (second col.)–5v: List of Gospel readings for the fixed feasts, with list of Gospel readings for the morning Resurrection and list of Gospel readings for various occasions. Title (fol. 2r): Εὐαγγέλ(ια) τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ Μηνολόγ(ιον). Subtitle (fol. 2r): Μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ. Inc. (fol. 2r): Α' Εὐ(αγ)γέλιον Λο(υκᾶς) ιη'. Ἦλθεν οἰς (sic; should be εἰς) τ(έλος) ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ (Luke 4:16–22); Expl. (fol. 5v): ΛΑ'Λο(υκᾶς) σκε'. Διήρχετο τ(έλος) τὸ ἀπολωλός (Luke 19:1–10).

97. For analysis of many aspects of M.748, see Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Two Solar Eclipses and the Date and Localization of the Kerasous Gospels from the Pierpont Morgan Library," *Nea Rhome* 5 (forthcoming). Segments of this article have been adapted for presentation in this catalogue entry.

3. fols. 6r–6v: Canon Tables, incomplete (end of II–V).[98]

4. fols. 7r–7v: **Eusebios of Caesarea**, *Epistula ad Carpianum ad canones evangeliorum praemissa*, incomplete. Title (fol. 7r): Ὑπόθεσις κανώνων (sic) τῆς τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν συμφωνίας. Inc. (fol. 7r): Κανὼν πρῶτος ἐνὸ (sic; should be ἐν ᾧ) οἱ τέσσαρ(ες), Ματθαῖος Μάρκος Λουκᾶς Ἰωάννης … ; Expl. (fol. 7v): … λέγοντας αὐτοὺς εὑρήσεις. Ἔρρωσω (sic; should be Ἔρρωσο) ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ.

   NTG, 84*–85*; Soden, 388f.

Fol. 8r: originally blank; list of Gospel readings for the Holy Week by a later hand. The folio is stained with glue, and the note is partially illegible. A folio with a full-page miniature of the emperor Constantine the Great (now Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Art Museum, MS acc. no. y1932-14) was apparently glued onto this folio (see DECORATION).

Fol. 8v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist Matthew.

5. fols. 9r–61v: The Gospel of Matthew. Title (fol. 9r): Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον. Inc. (fol. 9r): Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ υ(ἱο)ῦ Δα(υὶ)δ … ; Expl. (fol. 61v): … ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν.

   NTG, 1–87.

6. fols. 62r–92v: The Gospel of Mark. Title (fol. 62r): Εὐαγγέλιον κατ(ὰ) Μάρκον. Inc. (fol. 62r): Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ υ(ἱο)ῦ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ὡς

98. Folios 6 and 7 were apparently reversed during binding, as was noted in Clark, 148. The letter of Eusebios should have preceded the canon tables.

γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς προφήταις … ; Expl. (fol. 92v): … καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ (Mark 16:8, a short
284 conclusion).[99]

NTG, 88–149.

7. fols. 93r–150r: The Gospel of Luke. Title (fol. 93r): Εὐαγγέλιον κατ(ὰ) Λουκᾶν. Inc. (fol. 93r): Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι … ; Expl. (fol. 150r): … καὶ ἦσαν διὰ παντὸς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αἰνοῦντες καὶ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θ(εό)ν. Ἀμήν.

NTG, 150–246.

Fol. 150v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist John.

8. fols. 151r–194r (first col.): The Gospel of John. Title (fol. 151r): Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Inc. (fol. 151r): Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος … ; Expl. (fol. 194r, first col.): … οὐδ' αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία. Ἀμήν.

NTG, 247–319.

9. fol. 194r (second col.): **Irenaeus**, *Adversus haereses*, fragment (ascribed in the manuscript to Epiphanios, bishop of Cyprus). Title: Ἐπιφανίου ἐπισκόπου Κύπρου. Inc.: Τέσσαρά ἐστιν τὰ εὐαγγέλια τῶν ἀριθμῶν οὔτε πλείονα οὔτε ἐλάττονα … ; Expl.: … ἔγραψεν ὁ Πέτρος.

Louis Doutreleau and Adelin Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies, Livre 3,* 2 vols., Sources chrétiennes, 210–211 (Paris,

99. On short and long conclusions in the Gospel of Mark, see Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*: *An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism,* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1989), 69.

1974; repr. 2002), 2:sec. 11, lines 1–38. The text of M.748's fragment differs somewhat from the published text.

10. fol. 194v: Partially illegible treatise on three Magi. No title. Inc.: … τῶν μάγων πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσὴφ … ; Expl. : … Πηγ(ῶν?) ἀχράντ(ων?) τῶν ἐκ <…>.

Author is not identified.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 195 (modern foliation 1–194 at the top right corners, in pencil; two folios were numbered as 9, at present 9 and 9bis); no fly-leaves; 260/267 x 215/220 mm. (two col.; written surface varies significantly, 190/202 x 149/162 mm.). Written in 25–27 lines, interlinear space 7–9 mm. Script is suspended from the ruled lines, but sometimes does not touch the line.[100] Ruled Leroy 33D2d and 43D2d (systems 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, plus some original). Ruled with dull dry point, which left deep, rough impressions. Pricking was mostly cropped during binding; the remaining perforation is in the shape of large and medium-sized triangles. There are wenty-five quires plus two opening gatherings with prefatory material. These two quires (marked here as A and B) were not signed by the scribe (a common practice). The first quire (signed "α") starts on fol. 9r (beginning of the Gospel of Matthew). Collation: first opening quire A^8 (-1, 7, 8, with loss of some chapter titles and some canon tables); second opening gathering B^8 (-2, 3, 4, 6, 7, with loss of some canon tables and possibly prefaces); $1–3^8$ 4^8 (+3, 8) 5^8 6^8 (4

100. The significance of the position of the text in relation to the ruled lines has not been sufficiently studied. The scribes of early (ninth- and tenth-century) minuscule manuscripts often positioned text on, across, or in between the ruled lines; after the eleventh century, scribes almost always suspended text from the ruled lines. The in between position might have been an Italian influence, but more research is needed on this subject: see Kavrus-Hoffmann review, *Il libro manuscritto,* 299.

and 7 are fourteenth-century replacements for the lost original folios) 7^6 (a ternion; -5, 6; with loss of a portrait of the
286 Evangelist Mark) 8^8 9^8 (7 is a fourteenth-century replacement for the lost original folio) 10^8 11^8 (-8, with loss of a portrait of the Evangelist Luke) $12–13^8$ 14^8 (third bifolium was inserted in violation of "Gregory's rule"[101]) $15–17^8$ 18^8 (violation of "Gregory's rule" between 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6, 7 and 8) 19^2 (a union) $20–24^8$ 25^4 (a binion). Quires signed by the scribe in the lower left corner of the first recto and in the lower right corner of the last verso of each quire, in magenta ink over brown ink or in plain magenta ink. Ekphonetic notation is in magenta and bright red ink. Parchment of poor quality, thickness varies greatly, from thin to thick (with the predominance of thick folios), warped. There are some stitches, patches, scalloping, and small holes. The contrast between yellowish-white flesh side and brownish hair side is pronounced. Dense black hair follicles are visible on many folios. Pen is medium thick *kalamos*.

SCRIPT

One scribe, whose name is illegible in an extensively flaked colophon on fol. 194v (see COLOPHON). His script is not especially calligraphic and looks provincial (fig. 10).[102] It is a traditional and rather formal late *Perlschrift*, almost vertical with a slight inclination to the right. Such script was widely used in the second half of the eleventh century through the first half of the twelfth, especially for Gospel manuscripts. But M.748's script lacks the fluidity of eleventh-century *Perlschrift*. The scribe displays a deliberate, somewhat stiff, and imitative *ductus,* which points to a later date. Some letters are enlarged but are not out of proportion. These letters include epsilon, zeta, xi, phi, and omega. The beginning of

101. On "Gregory's rule," see n. 36.

102. For more samples of M.748's script, see Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Two Solar Eclipses," figs. 1, 4, 8, 10, and 11.

the Gospel of Mark on fol. 62r is written in a large and ornate epigraphic distinguishing majuscule.[103] The lists of Gospel readings, letter of Eusebios to Carpianus, treatise of Irenaeus, and text on three *Magi* are written in small vertical Alexandrian majuscules. Ink is light to medium brown and medium brown with chestnut tint.

The Morgan scribe's handwriting is especially similar to that of Arsenios Spastrikos, a monk who copied Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, MS 83 in 1137.[104] Similar scripts are also found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. gr. 2, which has been attributed to the beginning of the twelfth century,[105] and in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 243, which was copied by a monk Theodoulos in 1133.[106] The latter manuscript contains a note about the August 2, 1133 solar eclipse, which I will discuss later (see MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES).

DECORATION

Morgan M.748 displays diverse and eclectic decoration that is incomplete because several folios are missing. Only two canon tables (of probably six) and two out of four full-page portraits of the Evangelists (Matthew and John) remain. The Letter of Eusebius is adorned with two frames, each consisting of an arch resting on two columns. There are also five headpieces, three small marginal miniatures,[107] and numerous ornamented initials, some of which are anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, or in the shape of a blessing hand.

103. Ibid., fig. 5. On epigraphic and other distinguishing majuscules, see Hunger, "Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel."

104. Lake, 3: pl. 199 (MS 117).

105. Francesco D'Aiuto, Giovanni Morello, and Ambrogio M. Piazzoni, *I Vangeli dei popoli*: *La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia* (Vatican City, 2000), 260, cat. no. 58.

106. Vogel and Gardthausen, 134; Lake, 5:pl. 318 (MS 187).

107. These miniatures are described and analyzed by Jeffrey Anderson in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts,* 93.

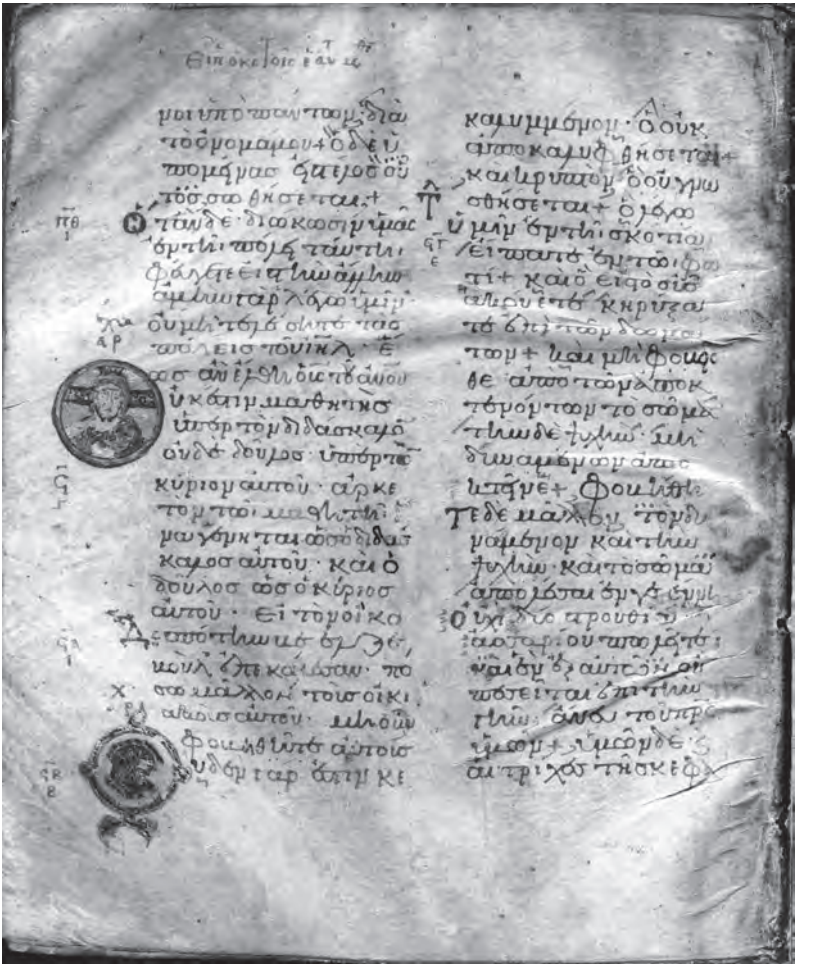

Figure 10.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.748, fol. 23v
(By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
Photographic credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

The canon tables and Evangelist portraits have been extensively studied by art historians. Carl Nordenfalk has argued that M.748's canon tables show the influence of much earlier models, such as London, British Library, Add. MS 5111, attributed to the seventh century and produced most likely in Constantinople. The archangels on top of one of the canon tables reminded him of an Anglo-Saxon manuscript from the late tenth century.[108] Between the two arches of M.748's canon tables are round medallions with bust portraits that have yet to be positively identified. Most likely they depict Old Testament prophets.[109]

The two full-page portraits of Matthew and John have attracted the special attention of art historians because each Evangelist is accompanied by a companion. Many of the manuscripts displaying such portraits are provincial—for example, the tenth-century Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.524, probably produced in Sinai or the Palestine region,[110] and the twelfth-century Gospels from Mount Athos, Monastery of Great Lavra, MS A104. Robert Nelson observed that the Lavra codex displays strong Italian influence and might have been produced in the monastery of Amalfitans, which housed Italian Benedictines, and was near the Great Lavra.[111]

108. Carl Nordenfalk, "The Apostolic Canon Tables," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 62 (1963): 17–34; repr. in Carl Nordenfalk, *Studies in the History of Book Illumination* (London, 1992), 30–40 at 34–36 and pl. XI.

109. *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts,* 93.

110. For more on this codex, see Kurt Weitzmann, "An Illustrated Greek New Testament of the Tenth Century in the Walters Art Gallery," in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, ed. Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M.C. Randall, and Richard H. Randall, Jr. (Baltimore, 1974), 19–38, repr. in Kurt Weitzmann, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (London, 1980), IX; Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Tenth-Century Greek Gospels," 21–34.

111. Robert S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York, 1980), 80–82.

Although attempts have been made, the identity of the accompanying figures in the Morgan Gospels has still not been definitely established, and their function is not clear.[112] There are no inscriptions next to the figures, and, although John's companion can be viewed as a secretary (he is holding an inkpot),[113] Matthew's youthful companion is standing in a pensive pose but without discernible purpose.[114]

The two portraits in Morgan M.748 seem to have been executed by two different artists, one of them clearly more skillful and the other probably an apprentice.[115] The portrait of Matthew presents a dynamic representation of the Evangelist and his companion, drawn at sharp angles and clothed in elaborate drapery. The background buildings and furniture are painted with attention to detail. The frame of Matthew's portrait is more sophisticated than John's and reminds me of Constantinopolitan manuscripts of the end of the eleventh century to the beginning of the twelfth—for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barocci 15, a Psalter executed in 1105.[116] Contrasting with the portrait of Mat-

112. Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler, "Ein Evangelientyp mit Aposteln als Begleitfiguren," in *Adolph Goldschmidt zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag am 15. Januar 1933* (Berlin, 1935), 32–33; George Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels,* Byzantina vindobonensia, 11 (Vienna, 1979), 56–58; Nelson, *Iconography*, 84–85.

113. John's companion in M.748 is almost certainly not Prochoros, who is typically pictured writing while John is dictating. See the portrait of John in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts,* 94.

114. See portrait of Matthew in Nelson, *Iconography,* fig. 69 and in Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Two Solar Eclipses," fig. 7. Jeffrey Anderson asserts that "in the Morgan Gospels the original *raison d'être* of the second figure seems to have been lost to the illuminator …" (*Illuminated Greek Manuscripts,* 93).

115. See M.748's portraits of Matthew and John side by side in Galavaris, *Illustrations of the Prefaces*, figs. 24 and 25.

116. See Ioannis Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, 2 vols., Byzantina Neerlandica, 8 (Leiden, 1981), 1:38, cat. no. 120, and 2:fig. 230.

thew, John's portrait offers static and somewhat awkward figures of the Evangelist and his attendant, heavy drapery, and a simple frame with interlace ornament. There are no buildings in the background, only two squares implying stylized windows; rather than a lectern, there are only a simple chair and a footstool. John holds the Gospel in his left hand, while the companion holds an inkpot in his right; the pot's disproportionately large size gives it an overly prominent place in the picture.

The five headpieces in M.748 are quite ordinary. The first is small and pi-shaped, and marks the beginning of the list of Gospel readings for the fixed feasts (*Menologion*). The three headpieces to the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke are pi-shaped and somewhat squat. They are filled with geometric and vegetal ornament, and there are rather large finials at the corners.[117] The headpiece to the Gospel of John differs from the other three and is configured as a wide, square frame, occupying about a third of the first column. The frame is filled with encircled palmettes, with the inner field left blank. The palette is simple for all headpieces, predominating dark red and blue, with some details in gold.

The initials in M.748 display a wide variety of decorative elements and forms. Inside two omicrons, on fol. 23v (fig. 10) and fol. 39v,[118] are portraits of Christ. On fol. 16r an omicron is formed by two birds joined at tails and beaks. On some folios herons touch an initial but are not a part of it—for example, on fols. 9r, 52r, and 62r.[119]

There are various epsilon initials that incorporate an image of a blessing hand, such as on fols. 63v,[120] 36v, and 19v—the latter includes a bust portrait of Christ with a blessing

117. See, for example, a headpiece to the Gospel of Mark in Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Two Solar Eclipses," fig. 5.

118. Ibid., fig. 8.

119. Ibid., fig. 5.

120. Ibid., fig. 9.

hand. Initials with blessing hands were quite popular in the manuscripts produced in the provinces of the Byzantine Empire, especially in Southern Italy and Greece. Some of M.748's initials are similar to those found in manuscripts from Epiros—for instance, a tall and narrow epsilon, with a large base and a rhomb on the top.[121] Another example of possible Epirotan influence is an epsilon with a blessing hand that extends, not from the curved left side of the letter, but from a short vertical bar that creates a small loop inside the letter's body.[122] Such epsilon initials are also found in Moscow, State Historical Museum, MS Vladimir 8 (Synod. 485). The Moscow codex was copied by a monk Basileios in 1116 in the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, and once was kept in the infirmary of the Great Lavra. [123]

Many initials in M.748 are formed by thick vines entwined around the body of a letter, like an alpha initial on fol. 136v.[124] Somewhat similar initials are found in manuscripts such as Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, MS 234, copied in 1118/19, possibly in southern Italy;[125] and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 482.[126] But quite unusual for a Greek manuscript is the tau initial

121. Ibid., fig. 10. See similar epsilon initials in Annaclara Cataldi Palau, "The Burdett-Coutts Collection of Greek Manuscripts: Manuscripts from Epirus," *Codices manuscripti* 54/55 (2006): 31–57 and pls. 1–23.

122. See, for example, Cataldi Palau, "The Burdett-Coutts Collection," pl. 5.

123. Lake, 6:pl. 416 (MS 231). Erich Lamberz pointed out the southern Italian influence in the Moscow codex's decoration: Erich Lamberz, "Die Handschriftenproduktion in den Athosklöstern bis 1453," in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*, 1:25–78 at 46–47.

124. Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Two Solar Eclipses," fig. 11.

125. Dieter Harlfinger et al., eds., *Specimina Sinaitica*: *Die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1983), pls. 95 and 96; Weitzmann and Galavaris, pl. CXXXVII, figs. 441–445.

126. Lake, 8:pl. 566 (MS 308; the date of the codex, 1121, is given with a question mark).

on fol. 165v.[127] This tau is very large, stretching along thirteen lines of text, and is composed of stylized vines that are tightly intertwined, interlaced, and knotted. One would expect to find such initials in southern Italian manuscripts, and, indeed, similar initials are found in Calabrian manuscripts written in Reggio writing style, such as Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 2290, copied in 1197; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 165, attributed to the end of the twelfth century; and Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS II C 21, attributed to the first half of the thirteenth century.[128] A similar initial is found in London, British Library, Add. MS 36751, executed in the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos in 1008 (an epsilon initial with a protruding blessing hand).[129] And a somewhat similar intertwined initial is found in Mount Athos, Monastery of Esphigmenou, MS 25, copied by Theodoros and illuminated by his son Basileios for a certain Leon in 1129.[130] It is clear that Morgan M.748's decoration has eclectic features, and that its artist was influenced by ideas and examples from many different sources and regions. Although lacking the refined artistic quality of the best examples of the Constantinopolitan illuminated codices, M.748 was an ambitious undertaking for a provincial artist.

Analysis of M.748's decoration would not be complete without discussing a single leaf with a full-page miniature: Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Art Museum, MS acc. no. y1932-14.[131] The miniature portrays a standing

127. Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Two Solar Eclipses," fig. 12.

128. Paul Canart and Santo Lucà, *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale* (Rome 2000), 93–96 and 115 (cat. nos. 34, 35, and 48).

129. Spatharakis, *Corpus,* 1:17–18 and 2:pl. 76.

130. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 3:pl. 200 (MS 118).

131. See detailed descriptions of this miniature and its reproduction in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts,* 96, cat. no. 18; Iohannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts,* Byzantina neerlandica, 6 (Leiden, 1976), 70–74, 115, 258, and fig. 41; Kotzabassi, Ševčenko, and Ske-

emperor who is identified in a caption as Constantine the Great.[132] Nordenfalk convincingly demonstrated that this leaf was once glued to folio 8r of the Morgan codex.[133] Although there is no direct evidence that the Princeton miniature was part of the original Morgan codex, its portrait of an emperor is similar to M.748's portrait of the Evangelist John in size, palette, and ornamentation.[134] And, if the original M.748 included the miniature, it might well have been a frontispiece to the manuscript, as Nancy Ševčenko has suggested.[135]

Scholars agree that the Princeton miniature represents a ruling emperor of the time of the manuscript production rather than a true portrait of Constantine the Great. But the identity of the ruling emperor is still the subject of debate. The Morgan manuscript was thought to have been produced before 1086, so Constantine VIII (1025–28[136]), Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55), Constantine X Ducas (1059–67), and Michael VII Dukas (1071–78) have been proposed as possible models.[137] The Princeton portrait, however, does not bear a close resemblance to the known portraits of these rulers.

The new date I have proposed for the production of the Morgan codex, the year 1133, was during the rule of John

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mer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*. I thank Nancy Ševčenko for a copy of her catalogue entry for the Princeton leaf y1932-14.

132. *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts,* 97, fig. 30.

133. Nordenfalk, *Studies,* 39–40.

134. Such similarities were noted by Jeffrey Anderson in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts,* 96, and by Ševčenko in Kotzabassi, Ševčenko, and Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton,* catalogue entry for the Princeton leaf y1932-14.

135. Ibid.

136. These and the following dates after the names of emperors are the dates of their rule.

137. Nordenfalk, *Studies,* 230, n. 39; Anderson in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts,* 96; Spatharakis, *Portrait,* 72–74; Kotzabassi, Ševčenko, and Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*, catalogue entry for the Princeton leaf y1932-14.

II Komnenos (1118–43). Nancy Ševčenko has observed that the image on the Princeton leaf "bears a certain resemblance to the imperial figures thought to be Alexios I and John II Komnenos carved on two large early-12th-century stone roundels of unclear purpose (one at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, the other still on a wall in Venice)."[138] In addition, the youthful and oval-shaped face with slightly slanted eyes in the Princeton miniature somewhat resembles the portraits of Alexios I and John II in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. gr. 2[139] and the portrait of John II on a mosaic from the Hagia Sophia.[140] These resemblances could support the case for an early twelfth-century date for M.748, if indeed the Princeton portrait was originally a part of it.

COLOPHON

Written by the scribe in red ink, the colophon is at the end of the supplementary texts on fol. 194v, the last folio of the manuscript.[141] The subscription is almost illegible, even with the help of an ultraviolet lamp, and was not noticed by previous scholars. Just a few words are decipherable: "ἐγρά(φη) τὸ εὐ(α)γ(γέλιον) οὗτο (sic) διὰ χ<ειρὸς> … | ἐξ ἐπ<ιταγῆς> τοῦ κυρ(οῦ) Μιχαὴλ …" (this Gospel book was written by the hand of <…> on the order of *kyr* Michael <…>).[142]

138. Ibid., with a reference to Gary Vikan, *Catalogue of the Sculpture in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection from the Ptolemaic Period to the Renaissance* (Washington, D.C., 1995), cat. no. 40.

139. See, for example, D'Aiuto, Morello, and Piazzoni, cat. no. 58, p. 263.

140. See color reproductions of the mosaic in Nano M. Chatzidakis, *Byzantine Mosaics* (Athens, 1994), fig. 39; and in W. Eugene Kleinbauer, Antony White, and Henry Matthews, *Hagia Sophia* (London, 2004), 70.

141. See the reproduction of the colophon in Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Two Solar Eclipses," fig. 3.

142. I would like to thank Charalambos Dendrinos, Maria Litina, Stratis Papaioannou, and Manolis Patedakis for helpful suggestions about this note and subsequent notes.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

There are two important notes about full solar eclipses, one
296 by the scribe himself, and another by a different hand.[143] The scribal note is on fol. 194r, at the end of the Gospel of John, in the same ink as the main text, but in a slightly more cursive *ductus*:

> μη(νὶ) αὐ(γούστῳ) β᾽ ἡμέρᾳ τετράδ(ῃ) ὥρᾳ | ζ᾽ ἕως πρὸ(ς) ὀγδώ(ην) (sic) ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ια᾽ ἔτους | ,ϛχμα᾽ ἠμαυρώθ(η) ὁ ἥλ(ιος) καὶ | ἐγένε(το) σκώτο(ς) (sic) | ἕως ὥρας μίας. | ὥστε ἀπ(ὸ) τ(ῆς) ἄγαν (sic) σκοτάσε(ως) (sic) ἐφάνησ(αν) καὶ οἱ | ἀστέρ(ες).
>
> (On August 2, on the fourth day [of the week], in the seventh hour, [and] up to the eighth hour, in the eleventh indiction, in the year 6641 [= A.D. 1133] the sun became obscured, and darkness fell and lasted for one hour. Therefore, because of the extreme darkness, the stars became visible.)

The non-scribal note is on fol. 193v, in the bottom margin, in light brown ink with a slight grayish tint:

> μη(νὶ) φε(β)ρ(ουαρίῳ) ις᾽ ὥρ(ᾳ) θ᾽ ἰν(δικτιῶνος) θ᾽ ἔτους ,ϛϕϙδ᾽ | ἠμαυρώθ(η) ὁ ἥλ(ιος) καὶ ἐγένε(το) σκώτο(ς) (sic) | ἕως ὥρας μίας.
>
> (On February 16 at the ninth hour, in the ninth indiction, in the year 6594 [= A.D. 1086] the sun became obscured, and darkness fell and lasted for one hour.)

On fol. 186v there is another non-scribal note in the bottom margin by a different hand than that on fol. 193v. The

143. Folios with these notes are reproduced in Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Two Solar Eclipses," figs. 1 and 2.

note reads: "Μνήστιτι (sic) Κ(ύρι)ε †Κλή<μ?>ου δούλου Θ(εο)ῦ Μασγουρήτα." (Remember, oh Lord, Klim<ent?>, God's servant of Masgoureta.)[144]

BINDING

Fifteenth-century Greek binding, brown thick leather over thick (10 mm.) grooved wooden boards.[145] In the center of each cover there is a large blind-tooled cross surrounded by simple blind-tooled frames (the front cover cross is inverted by mistake). The manuscript is sewn at four stations. The spine is missing, and the binding is exposed. There are two metal pegs from missing clasps. End bands are bicolor, made of alternating blue and red thread and not braided (similar to those in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 6709[146]).

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE[147]

Morgan M.748 has been attributed to the tenth century (De Ricci), to the eleventh century (most scholars), and to the twelfth century (Clark).[148] The eleventh century has been a widely accepted date because a non-scribal marginal note on fol. 193v describes a total solar eclipse that took place on February 16, 1086 (see above). The note was written in a grayish ink different from the ink in the main text, with a sharper pen, and in a sloppy cursive hand. All scholars who have studied the manuscript agree that this note is

144. I was not able to identify Masgoureta's locale. The name in the note is probably a variant of Kliment. The normal genitive of "Κλήμης" is "Κλήμεντος."

145. The fifteenth-century date is taken from Clark; the binding is deemed to be original in De Ricci, 2:1495.

146. *Les Tranchefiles,* 32f (modèle no. 8).

147. More elaborate reasoning and argumentation on the date and localization of M.748 is presented in my article: Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Two Solar Eclipses."

148. De Ricci, 2:1495; Clark, 168.

non-scribal and was added to the manuscript later. Thus the year 1086 was presumed to be *terminus ante quem* for
298 the manuscript.

But previous scholars ignored a second note, which describes another total solar eclipse that took place on August 2, 1133 (see above). This note is on the recto of the last folio (fol. 194r), at the bottom of the first column and just below the end of the Gospel of John. The details in this note (such as the day of the week and appearance of stars) suggest that it was written by an eyewitness.[149] The note is also written with exactly the same ink and pen as the main text. These two pieces of evidence persuade me that the note was written by the scribe himself. Although the script of the note is a little more casual than the script of the main text, this casualness is not unusual for scribal notes and colophons. In my experience, non-scribal notes invariably display tints of ink different from the original, and it is highly unlikely that the same ink was used in a note separated from the main text by approximately half a century. After the note, moreover, short supplementary texts and a colophon were added by the scribe of the manuscript (see CONTENT and COLOPHON). Thus, I conclude that the manuscript was copied in 1133 and that the note about the earlier eclipse was added after that date.

The mediocre quality of its parchment, average calligraphy, and evidently non-Constantinopolitan style of decoration all point to the provinces of the Byzantine Empire as likely regions of production. To date, two possible regions have been proposed by scholars: southern Italy and the Trebizond area of Asia Minor. Advocates of both hypotheses have presented reasons that were based predomi-

149. For example, F. Richard Stephenson observed: "The description of the eclipse, whose date and weekday … are correctly assigned, is clearly that of an eye-witness." See F. Richard Stephenson, *Historical Eclipses and Earth's Rotation* (Cambridge 1997), 393.

nantly on the Morgan codex's provenance from Asia Minor, and similarities in decoration with southern Italian, Anglo-Saxon, Armenian, and Georgian codices. But no previous scholar has linked the issue of localization with the two total solar eclipses described in M.748.

It can be verified that both eclipses took place on the indicated dates: February 16, 1086 and August 2, 1133.[150] Maps of the United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) trace the "paths of totality" of the two eclipses, and show that neither eclipse was visible in Kerasous or Samsun in the Trebizond region or on the entire Black Sea coast of Asia Minor.[151] The path of the 1086 eclipse went through Sicily and the Reggio-Calabria region and then through the northern and northeastern parts of Greece and along the middle of the Black Sea. The path of the 1133 eclipse went through England, Germany, Austria, the northeastern part of Greece, and through the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. This eclipse was visible in parts of Greek Macedonia, including Thessaloniki and Mount Athos, as well as on most of the Aegean Sea islands, just touching the southwestern coast of Asia Minor.

When superimposed, the two maps create an image with the two eclipses intersecting, and the combined image clearly shows that the paths of the eclipses intersect in the northeastern part of Greece.[152] This is the only area from which both eclipses could be seen. The area is rather small (252 x 208 kilometers or 156 x 129 miles) but includes Thessaloniki, Mount Athos, and adjacent territory.

The August 2, 1133 eclipse was recorded not only in M.748 but also in many sources from different parts of

150. Venance Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris 1958), 465–66.

151. *Five Millennium Catalog of Solar Eclipses:* http://sunearth.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse/SEcat5/catalog.html. See these maps in Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Two Solar Eclipses," figs. 13 and 14.

152. Ibid., fig. 15.

Western Europe[153] and in the colophon of another Greek manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 243.[154] The scribe of the Paris codex, a monk Theodoulos, noted that the August 2, 1133 total eclipse occurred "in the eighth hour"—almost exactly the same time noted by the scribe of the Morgan codex ("from the seventh to the eighth hour").[155] Theodoulos also mentioned that the eclipse took place "during the reign of John the Porphyrogennetos [John II Komnenos] and Irene, with John serving as patriarch of Constantinople [John IX Agapetos, patriarch 1111-34] and Niketa as archbishop of Thessaloniki."[156] Theodoulos's reference to the archbishop of Thessaloniki is compelling evidence that the Paris codex was produced in a monastery located in Thessaloniki or in the vicinity of the city, as has been affirmed by Kurt Treu.[157] And since two scribes observed the eclipse at about the same time, they must have been in the same geographic location or neighboring lo-

153. All Western European sources report extreme darkness in the middle of the day and many bright stars near the eclipsed sun. Some of these records were published in Stephenson, *Historical Eclipses,* 392–94, 416–17, and 423–24.

154. The Greek text of the colophon was published by Kirsopp and Silva Lake: Lake, 5:11 and pl. 318 (MS 187) and reproduced in Ph. Euangelatou-Notara, *"Semeiomata" Hellenikon kodikon hos pege dia ten ereunan tou oikonomikou kai koinonikou viou tou Vyzantiou apo tou 9ou aionos mechri tou etous 1204* (Athens 1982), 198–99.

155. It is well known that Byzantines did not measure time precisely and did not have accurate instruments. Moreover, their hours had different lengths depending on the seasons: Grumel, 163–64; Stephenson, *Historical Eclipses*, 381. Thus the Byzantine "seventh hour" is approximately our noon, and the "eighth hour" is around 1:00 PM. According to NASA tables, the August 2, 1133 eclipse took place at 12:24 PM at the point of so-called "greatest eclipse," which was located just north of Greece. I refer those who are interested in scientific details to the NASA website.

156. My translation from Theodoulos's colophon cited above.

157. Kurt Treu, "Griechische Schreibernotizen als Quelle für politische, soziale und kulturelle Verhältnisse ihrer Zeit," *Byzantinobulgarica* 2 (1966): 127–43 at 136–37.

cations on the eclipse's "path of totality." Thus, I conclude that central Greek Macedonia is the region of production of Morgan M.748.

This Gospel manuscript was very probably produced in Mount Athos or Thessaloniki and in a monastic rather than an independent scriptorium. Codicological, paleographic, and artistic evidence supports this hypothesis. For example, several manuscripts that were produced or received in Mount Athos contain script and decoration very similar to the script and decoration of the Gospel manuscript (as discussed earlier). Moreover, the scribe of M.748 noted that he executed this manuscript "on the order of *kyr* Michael." Because the manuscript's colophon is now extensively flaked, many words are totally illegible, including the name (and possibly the social status) of the scribe. The text is also illegible immediately after the name Michael and at the end of the colophon. I have scrutinized the colophons in Lake's volumes and in Euangelatou-Notara's collection of colophons, and have found only a few scribal notes with similar vocabulary, most of them in twelfth-century manuscripts of exclusively monastic origin. These manuscripts were executed by monks "on the order of" or "at the behest of" a superior cleric, who was frequently a monastery's *hegoumenos* or *kathegoumenos* (abbot) and was respectfully and deferentially referred to as "*kyr*."

In Moscow, State Historical Museum, MS Vladimir 8 (Synod. 485), for example, copied in 1115/16 in the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, the scribe, monk Basileios, stated: "ἐγράφη ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος αὕτη διὰ προτροπῆς τοῦ τιμιωτάτου καὶ καθηγουμένου ἡμῶν κυροῦ Θεοδώρου …" (this book was written at the behest of our most esteemed abbot *kyr* Theodoros …).[158] And in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 891, which was copied in 1136 at St. John the Baptist Petra Monastery in Constantinople, the

158. Euangelatou-Notara, *"Semeiomata,"* 193–94.

scribe/monk Arsenios stated: "ἡ βίβλος αὕτη … ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἀρσενίου ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς καὶ συλλογῆς τοῦ
302 καθηγουμένου τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς μοναχοῦ κυροῦ Μαξίμου …" (this book … was written by the hand of the monk Arsenios on the order of and by the choice of the abbot of this monastery, monk *kyr* Maximos).[159]

The scribal notes cited above are very similar in structure and content to the legible portions of the Morgan colophon. These similarities strengthen the premise that M.748's scribe was a monk working in a monastery and *kyr* Michael was the abbot of the monastery or some other ecclesiastical superior. One can only hypothesize about the exact location of the monastery in central Greek Macedonia. Morgan M.748 was very probably produced in the region's major religious or urban center, but there is not enough evidence to make a definite attribution to Mount Athos or Thessaloniki. Research on provincial scriptoria is scarce, and while there are some studies of manuscripts produced in Mount Athos,[160] to the best of my knowledge there are no studies of manuscripts produced earlier than the fourteenth century in Thessaloniki.

Morgan M.748's eclectic and imitative decoration fits well into the multicultural milieus of Mount Athos and Thessaloniki. The monasteries in both Mount Athos and Thessaloniki could have provided an artist with diverse examples of manuscript illumination, and an anonymous reader could have easily found a record of an earlier eclipse and copied it into a margin of the Morgan codex. Thus, a monastery in either Mount Athos or Thessaloniki is the most likely site of its production site.

The manuscript was once the property of the Orthodox Church in Kerasous (modern Giresun in Turkey) in the

159. Ibid., 199.

160. Irigoin, "Pour une étude des centres II," 195–204; Lamberz, "Die Handschriftenproduktion in den Athosklöstern," 25–78.

Trebizond region on the Black Sea. Later, in 1906, the manuscript was owned by Anthimos of Amaseia, archbishop of Samsun. In 1929 the manuscript was purchased by J.P. Morgan (1867–1943) (probably through Harold R. Willoughby as stated by Clark) from the Paris book dealer Maurice Stora.

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Nordenfalk, "The Apostolic Canon Tables," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 62 (1963): 17–34 at 22–25, figs. 6, 7, and 16; repr. in Carl Nordenfalk, *Studies in the History of Book Illumination* (London, 1992), 30–40 at 34–35, 39 and n. 17, pls. XI, 1–2 and XIV, 1; David Sandler Berkowitz, *In Remembrance of Creation*: *Evolution of Art and Scholarship in the Medieval and Renaissance Bible* (Waltham, Mass., 1968), 27, cat. no. 45 (MS is deemed to be of probable south Italian origin); Jeffrey C. Anderson, catalogue entry for M.748 in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 92–95, cat. no. 17 (attributes MS to s.xi^{2}, and Asia Minor is proposed as the place of origin); George Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels* (Vienna, 1979), 56f. and figs. 24–25; Robert S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York, 1980), 84 and pl. 69; Ursula Wolf, *Die Parabel vom reichen Prasser und armen Lazarus in der mittelalterlichen Buchmalerei* (Munich, 1989), 31, 249, and fig. 5 (a description of a marginal miniature on fol. 133r; Anatolia with a question mark is given as the place of origin); Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Two Solar Eclipses and the Date and Localization of the Kerasous Gospels from the Pierpont Morgan Library," *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies: London, 21–26 August, 2006,* 3 vols. (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, Vt., 2006), 3:129; Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Two Solar Eclipses and the Date and Localization of the Kerasous Gospels from the Pierpont Morgan Library," *Nea Rhome* 5 (forthcoming); Kotzabassi, Ševčenko, and Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*, catalogue entry for the Princeton leaf MS acc. no. y1932-14.

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Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann

MS M.758

Aristotle, *Topics*, incomplete

306 Constantinople (?), s.xi^{2}–s.xii^{in}

CONTENTS

Fols. 1r–70v: **Aristotle**, *Topics*, incomplete. Inc. mut. (fol. 1r): //ἐνὸ(ς) λεγομέν(ων), εἰ τὸ μᾶλλ(ον) ὑπάρχ(ειν) δοκοῦν … ; Expl. mut. (fol. 70v): … οὕτ(ως) ἢ ἐκείνως συλλογίσασθαι. διαλεγομένῳ δ(ὲ)//.

Bekker, 115a9–157b37.

Lacunae: between fols. 10v and 11r: Expl. (fol. 10v): … ὅτι πᾶσα ἀρετὴ ἐπιστήμη ἢ ὅτι οὐδεμία//, Inc. mut. (fol. 11r): //ἀλλὰ ποῖόν τι, δηλοῖ. ὥστ᾽ οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν … (Bekker 120a30–120b28); between fols. 25v and 26r: Expl. (fol. 25v): … λογικὸν δ(ὲ) τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι πρόβλημα πρὸ(ς) ὃ//, Inc. mut. (fol. 26r): <κατασκευά>//ζοντ(α) δὲ εἰ μηδενὶ χρῆται πλεονάκις … (Bekker 129a30–130b5); between fols. 51v and 52r: Expl. (fol. 51v): … ἁπλῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλοιούμεθ(α) κατὰ τὰς//, Inc. mut. (fol. 52r): <δό>//ξειεν ἂν ποιητ(ικὸν) εἶναι ἡ τ(ῶν) ἐναντί(ων) … (Bekker 145a11–145b17); between fols. 58v and 59r: Expl. (fol. 58v): … τοῦ δὲ περιττοῦ μετείληπται//, Inc. mut. (fol. 59r): //τὸ δι᾽ αὑτὸ αἱρετὸν καὶ δι᾽ ἄλλο εἶναι … (Bekker 149a33–149b35); between fols. 66v and 67r: Expl. (fol. 66v): … κατηγόρηκε(ν) ὡς ἕτερον. καὶ//, Inc. mut. (fol. 67r): //τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ ἐλέγετο· πε(ρὶ) δὲ τοῦ γένους … (Bekker 154a21–154b23); between fols. 67v and 68r: Expl. (fol. 67v): … ὅτι μόνῳ ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀντικα//<τηγορεῖται>, Inc. mut. (fol. 68r): //ἐπιστήμ(ην), ἂν τοῦτο βούληται λαβ(εῖν) … (Bekker 155a26–155b31); between fols. 69v and 70r: Expl. (fol. 69v): … ἐὰν μὴ παντελῶς φανερ(ὸν)//, Inc. mut. (fol. 70r): <προτεινο>//μένου φέρ(ειν), ἂν μὴ ἓν μόνον ᾖ τὸ τοιοῦτ(ον) … (Bekker 156b35–157a38).

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 70; two parchment fly-leaves and two parchment pastedowns: one of each at the beginning and one of each at the end, blank; 180/181 x 135 mm. (one col.; written surface 136/141 x 84/86 mm.). Written in 23 lines, interlinear space 6.5–7 mm. Ruled Leroy 20C1 (system Leroy 1) in dull dry point, deep impressions. Pricking is in margins, medium-sized slits and triangles. Script is usually suspended from the ruled lines but is sometimes positioned across or below the line. Ten quires; collation: 1^8 (-1, with loss of text) 2^8 (-4, with loss of text) 3^8 4^8 (-4, 5, with loss of text) 5–6^8 7^8 (-8, with loss of text) 8^8 (-8, with loss of text) 9^8 10^8 (-1, 3, 6, 8, with loss of text). Quires signed in the lower right corner of the first recto and in the lower left or upper left corner of the last verso of each quire (some signatures were cropped during binding). The signatures are not scribal; perhaps they were added by one of the scholiasts who used grayish-brown ink. The first signature KE' [25] on fol. 7v indicates that the manuscript has lost its first twenty four quires. In addition, several more quires are missing at the end. Parchment is of poor quality, medium thick, strong contrast between flesh side (creamy-white to yellowish) and hair side (yellow to brownish), some scalloping, few holes and stitches, numerous traces of hair follicles.

SCRIPT

One scribe, anonymous. The script is small-sized scholarly cursive, almost upright with slight inclination to the right (fig. 11). Majuscule betas, epsilons, and kappas are enlarged; tall iotas and taus are frequent; minuscule deltas have a disproportionally elongated upper stroke and phis have an inflated top loop; semi majuscule alphas have long oblique strokes at an angle of 60° to 70° in relation to ruled line. Regular majuscule forms of beta, gamma, delta, kappa, lambda, nu, and pi are reintroduced into the minuscule. Open form of the ligature sigma-tau is common. Signs for the compendia omicron-nu and omega-nu are enlarged. Diacritics

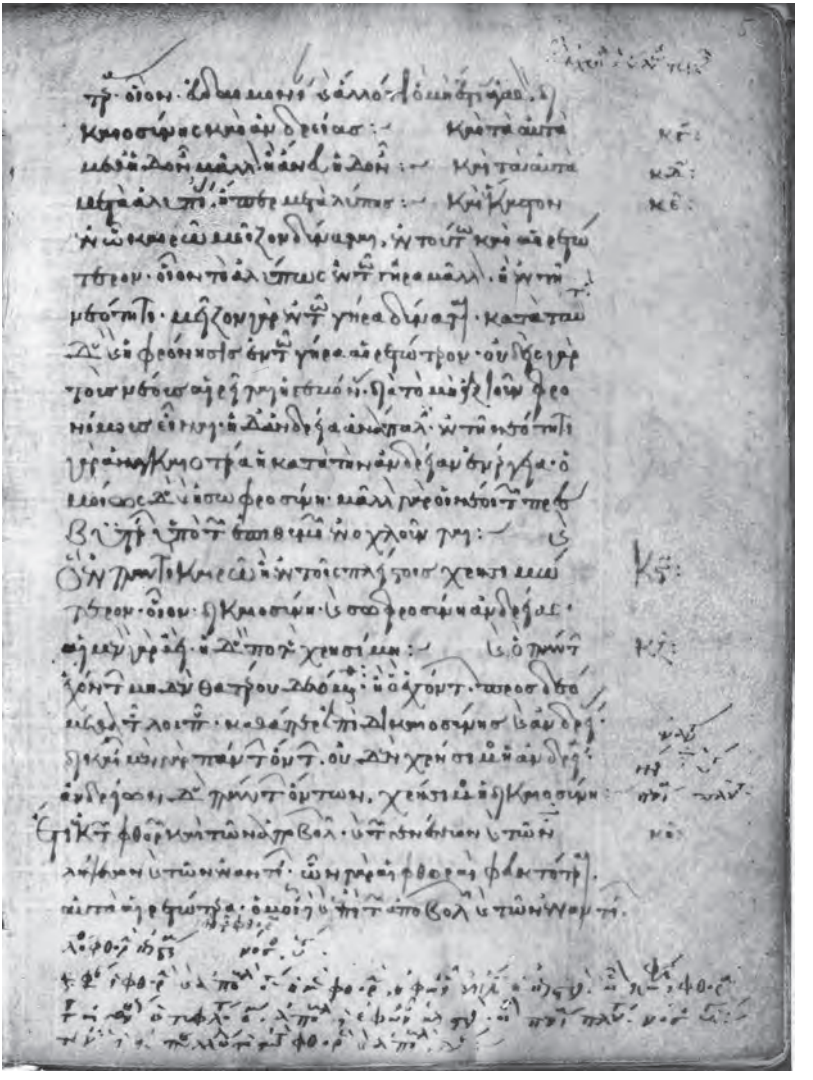

Figure 11.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.758, fol. 5r.
Gift; J.P. Morgan (1867–1943); 1924.
(By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
Photographic credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

are small. Breathings are angular and rounded. Ink is medium chestnut brown. The handwriting looks assured but is somewhat untidy. This type of script was identified and analyzed by Nigel Wilson, who convincingly argues in favor of attributing manuscripts with this writing style to the second half of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth.[161] Similar scripts are found in a number of manuscripts, such as Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, MS 54 (copied by the notary Leon in 1056); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 65 (copied by the *hypatos* and imperial notary Theodoros in 1063); Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS gr. 471 and 474; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. T.1.6; and Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Palatinus gr. 88 (the last four manuscripts are attributed to the beginning of the twelfth century).[162]

COLOPHON

None.

DECORATION

The codex is not decorated. There are a few simple pen-made wavy division bars executed in the ink of the text.

161. Nigel G. Wilson, "Scholarly Hands of the Middle Byzantine Period," in *PGB,* 221–39. For more on scholarly cursive scripts of the same period, see Canart and Perria, 1:67–116; 2:53–68; Cavallo, "Scritture informali," 1:219–38 and 3: pls. 1–28.

162. See reproductions of the scripts: Jerusalem 54 in Lake, 1:pl. 11, and in Ruth Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands, A.D. 400–1600* (Oxford and New York, 1981), no. 75; Vat. gr. 65 in Lake, 8:pl. 531, in Barbour, no. 78, and in Paul Canart, Santo Lucà, André Jacob, and Lidia Perria, *Facsimili di codici greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Exempla scripturarum, 5 (Vatican City, 1998), no. 25; Marciana gr. 471 and 474 in Wilhelm Wattenbach and Adolph von Velsen, *Exempla codicum graecorum litteris minusculis scriptorum* (Heidelberg, 1878), pls. XLVI–XLVIII; Bodleian Auct. T.1.6 in Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands*, pls. 46–48; Pal. gr. 88 in Mark Sosower, *Palatinus Graecus 88 and the Manuscript Tradition of Lysias* (Amsterdam, 1987), pl. 2.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

Some unidentified marginal commentaries are dispersed
310 throughout the manuscript. A few are scribal, but most were written by at least three different hands, probably contemporaneously or slightly later than the main text. Several short marginal notes were added by a scholar whose handwriting is small-sized, angular, and quite peculiar (fig. 11, bottom margin). I think the same scholar added some commentaries in the margins of folio 19r of the above-mentioned Marciana gr. 471, which displays the same type of scholarly cursive as M.758 and contains *Orbis descriptio* by Dionysios Periegetes and five tragedies by Euripides with marginal commentaries.[163] The script of these notes closely resembles that of "an anonymous erudite" from Terra d'Otranto in southern Italy who copied, collected, and annotated several codices: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS gr. 2019, 2057, 2062, and Suppl. gr. 599; and Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS B 93 (all five codices contain Aristotle's *Organon*). The handwriting of "the anonymous erudite" was identified by Brigitte Mondrain.[164] According to Mondrain, the "anonymous erudite" belonged to the circle of Drosos d'Aradeo, a famous priest, poet, and professor of philosophy who lived and worked in Terra d'Otranto at the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fourteenth century. Mondrain has hypothesized that the "anonymous erudite" might have been Drosos d'Aradeo himself. Although the notes in M.758 and Marciana gr. 471 are too short for a definite attribution to the "anonymous erudite," the close similarity between the two hands is obvious. Daniele Arne-

163. For a reproduction of folio 19r and a description of the codex, see Marc. gr. 471 in Nikolaos A. Livadaras, "Η παράδοσις τοῦ κειμένου τῆς οἰκουμένης περιηγήσεως τοῦ Διονυσίου ἐν τοῖς κώδιξι τῆς Μαρκιανῆς Βιβλιοθήκης," *Thesaurismata* 3 (1964): 103–39.

164. Brigitte Mondrain, "La Constitution de corpus d'Aristôte et de ses commentateurs aux XIIIe–XIVe siècles," *Codices manuscripti* 29 (2000): 11–33 at 26–33 and pl. 4.

sano agrees with my tentative identification and thinks that M.758 was in Terra d'Otranto at the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fourteenth century.[165]

BINDING

Modern brown calf leather. Bound by Charlotte M. Ullman in 1964.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

Paleographic evidence points to the second half of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century as M.758's date of production. Although the manuscript does not provide any clue about its scribe and place of origin, it can be associated with a school of higher education in Constantinople established by Constantine IX Monomachos (emperor 1042–55).[166] Philosophical studies flourished there under the guidance of the school's *hypatoi* Michael Psellos (1018–after 1081?) and especially John Italos (ca. 1025–82), who admired Aristotle and wrote commentaries on Aristotle's *Topics*. Perhaps one of Italos's students copied our manuscript for his own library.

In the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century M.758 was probably in southern Italy's Terra d'Otranto, where an anonymous scholar from the circle of Drosos d'Aradeo added several short marginal notes.

Further history of the manuscript is not known. It was purchased for the Pierpont Morgan Library from Guiseppe Martini in 1929.

165. Daniele Arnesano, "Aristotele in Terra d'Otranto: I manoscritti fra XIII e XIV secolo," *Segno e testo* 4 (2006): 149–90 at 184f.

166. For more on this school, also called "university" by some scholars, see Friedrich Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1926), 24–35.

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MS M.874

The Gospel of Matthew, fragment (Aland N 022)
Syria, s.vi²

CONTENTS

Fols. 1r–1v: The Gospel of Matthew, fragment. Inc. mut. (fol. 1r): <τετρακισχίλι>//οι ἄνδρες χωρὶς γυναικῶ(ν) καὶ παιδίων … ; Expl. mut. (fol. 1v): … οἱ δὲ διελογίζο(ν)το ἐν ἑαυτοῖς//.

NTG, Matthew 15:38–16:7.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Purple parchment, fol. 1, modern pagination 89–90, 309 x 260 mm. (two col.; written surface 227 x 220 mm.). Written in 16 lines, interlinear space 15 mm. No visible ruling. Parchment of good quality, medium thin, colored with pur-

ple dye.[167] The purple dye is faded. The folio was apparently folded several times, and the folding lines are visible.

SCRIPT

One scribe. Script is large and vertical majuscule; most letters have the same height and width. Vertical strokes of letters rho, phi, upsilon, and psi are elongated. This script is called "biblical majuscule."[168] Initials are slightly enlarged and placed in margins. Ink is silver; the *nomina sacra* are written in gold.

DECORATON

None.

COLOPHON

None.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

None.

BINDING

Matted.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

M.874 is a fragment from the large codex known as "Codex N" or "Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus." The major

167. According to William M. Voelkle, Curator and Department Head of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at the Morgan Library and Museum, Robert Fuchs analyzed the Morgan leaf in 1977 and concluded that "the purple color is not the Tyrian purple obtained from murex shells, as was once thought, but comes from lichen." See Voelkle, catalogue entry for M.874 in *In the Beginning: Bibles before the Year 1000*, ed. Michelle P. Brown (Washington, D.C., 2006), 303.

168. On this script, see Guglielmo Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Florence, 1967); Jean Irigoin, "L'Onciale grecque de type biblique," *Scriptorium* 24 (1970): 67–74.

part of this codex is St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS gr. 537 (182 fols.). The second largest part is Patmos, St. John the Theologian Monastery, MS 67 (33 fols.). Six other libraries of the world possess small fragments of this codex.[169] Codex N is attributed by scholars (see BIBLIOGRAPHY) to the second half of the sixth century and to a scriptorium in Syria where several other manuscripts copied on purple parchment were produced. Codicological and paleographic features of Codex N are similar to those in codices such as Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Theol. gr. 31 ("Vienna Genesis"), and Rossano Calabro, Museo dell'Arcivescovado, s.n. ("Rossano Gospels"). Codex N and the Rossano Gospels belong to the same oriental textual tradition of the Gospels.

According to William M. Voelkle, Stanley Rypins discovered the leaf "in the possession of a rural schoolteacher while traveling in an eastern Mediterranean country."[170] The Morgan fragment was purchased by the Morgan Library from Rypins in 1955.

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Stanley Rypins, "Two Inedited Leaves of Codex N," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 75 (1956): 27–39 and two figs.; Frederick B. Adams, *Seventh Annual Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1957), 11–14; Faye and Bond, 367; Joachim M. Plotzek and Ulrike Surmann, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Liturgie und Andacht im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1992), 60; *I Vangeli dei popoli: La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia,* ed. Francesco D'Aiuto, Giovanni Morello, and Ambrogio M. Piazzoni (Rome, 2000), 124f.; *Ho Porphyrous Kodix ton Euangelion Patmou kai Petroupoleos*, ed. Ecumenical Patri-

169. These libraries are listed in Voelkle, catalogue entry for M.874 in *In the Beginning,* 303.

170. Ibid.

arch of Constantinople Bartholomew I, Ho Perles Euangelos, Paulos Medvedef, and Agamemnon Tselikas (Athens, 2002)—a facsimile of the entire manuscript (M.874 is reproduced on pages 93 and 94 and mentioned on pages 26, 28, 30, and 73); Agamemnon Tselikas, "He bibliotheke tes mones tou hagiou Ioannou Theologou Patmou kai ho prophyros kodikas ton euangelion," in Agamemnon Tselikas, *Themata hellenikes palaiographias* (Athens, 2004), 69–88 at 74 and 79; William M. Voelkle, catalogue entry for M.874 in *In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000,* ed. Michelle P. Brown (Washington, D.C., 2006), 229 and 302f., cat. no. 65.

ABBREVIATIONS

Aland = Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1994).

Bekker = Immanuel Bekker, *Aristotelis opera,* 2 vols. (Berlin, 1831; repr. Darmstadt, 1960), 1:100a–164b.

Briquet = Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, ed. Allan Stevenson, 4 vols. (Paris, 1907; repr. with supplementary material, Amsterdam, 1968).

Clark = Kenneth W. Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937).

De Ricci = Seymour De Ricci, with W.J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States of America and Canada*, 3 vols. (New York, 1935–40).

Faye and Bond = C.U. Faye and W.H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962).

Illuminated Greek Manuscripts = Gary Vikan, ed., *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, N.J., 1973).

Leroy = Julien Leroy, *Les Types de réglure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1976).

NTG = *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. Eberhard and Erwin Nestle and Barbara and Kurt Aland, 27th ed. (Stuttgart, 2006).

ODB = Alexander P. Kazhdan et al., eds., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* 3 vols. (New York, 1991).

PG = Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus … , Series graeca,* 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66).

PGB = *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine: Colloque international sur la paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977).

PLP = Erich Trapp et al., eds., *Prosopographishes Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 12 vols. (Vienna, 1976–96).

Review of the Growth = *The Pierpont Morgan Library: A Review of the Growth, Development and Activities of the Library during the Period between Its Establishment as an Educational Institution in February 1924 and the Close of the Year 1929* (New York, 1930).

RGK = Ernst Gamillscheg, Dieter Harlfinger, and Herbert Hunger et al., *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1981–97).

Soden = Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte,* 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1911–13).

Vogel and Gardthausen = Marie Vogel and Viktor Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft 33 (Leipzig, 1909, repr. 1966).

INDICES

References in the following indices are given to the manuscript entry in which the item, identification, or individual in question appears. References for citations only are given in *italics*.

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II. PLACE AND DATE

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s.ix^{ex}–x^{in}: M.652 (Constantinople)
s.xi$^{4/4}$: M.692 (Constantinople)
s.xi^{2}–xii^{in}: M.758 (Constantinople?)
s.xii$^{1/4}$: M.714 (Constantinople)
s.xv^{1}: M.745 (Constantinople, St. John the Baptist Petra Monastery)

Date derived from the scribal note about solar eclipse:
1133: M.748 (Mount Athos or Thessaloniki)

EGYPT
s.viii? : M.664A(4)
s.?: M.662A(9c)

MOSCOW, RUSSIA
Dated by colophon:
1596, March 6: M.654.1-4

RUMANIA/WALLACHIA
s.xvii$^{1/4}$: M.656 (Dealu Monastery)

SYRIA
s.vi²: M.874

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s.ix⁴/⁴: M.655
s xi: M.745 (under text)

III. SCRIPT

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Ancient rounded minuscule: M.655
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Constantinopolitan distinguishing majuscule: M.655
Coptic majuscule: M.664A(4)
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Liturgical minuscule: M.692
Maiuscola ogivale diritta: M.745 (underlying text)
Minuscola antica oblunga (ancient oblong minuscule): M.652; *M.655*
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Minuscola typo Anastasio (type of Anastasios): *M.655*
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Perlschrift: *M.692*; M.714; M.745 (underlying text); M.748
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Wallachian school: M.654.1-4; M.656

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24C/D1 Cr 1: M.692
32C1: M.714
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43D2d: M.748
C 20C1a: M.652

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VI. SUPPORT

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M.655
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PURPLE PARCHMENT
M.874
Paper
M.654.1-4

PAPER, OCCIDENTAL
M.656

VII. WATERMARKS

Banner on a pole with letters GBZ (Z in the shape of 3; countermark: trefoil with the same letters): *M.655 (fly-leaves)*
Crown with small cross on the bottom and six-ray star with crescent on top (countermark: letters P and B with trefoil on top): M.656
Crown with six-ray star with crescent on top (countermark: letters F and Z in shape of 3 with trefoil on top): M.656
Paschal Lamb with banner (countermark: trefoil with letters GBZ; Z in the shape of 3): M.655 (fly-leaves)
Three crescents with letters VG: M. 656 (fly-leaves)

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Anthimos of Amaseia, archbishop of Samsun: M.748
Charles (unknown owner): M.652
Constantine IX Monomachos, emperor: M.748; M.758
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Davis and Orioli, dealers: M.745
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Franciscus de Rov<ereto?>: M.745
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IX. OTHER MANUSCRIPTS CITED

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PADUA
Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile
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MS gr. 70: *M.652*
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Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia
MS 2: *M.692*

VIENNA
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
MS Theol. gr. 31: *M.874*

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Dumbarton Oaks
MS 1: *M.692*

X. INCIPITS

Α᾽ Εὐ(αγ)γέλιον Λο(υκᾶς) ιη᾽. Ἦλθεν οἰς (sic; should be εἰς) τ(έλος) ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ: M.748

α᾽ Θεολογία Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐν δόξῃ πατρὸς καὶ ἐξουσία … : M.714

Αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα Κ(υρίο)υ. Ἀινεῖτε δοῦλοι Κ(ύριο)ν … : M.656

Ἄισωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται … : M.656

<Ἄνθρωποι δ>//ύο ἀνέ<βησα>ν εἰς τὸ <ἱερὸ>ν προσεύ// <ξασθαι> … : M.664A(4)

Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός … : M.714

Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ υ(ἱο)ῦ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς προφήταις … : M.748

Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ υ(ἱο)ῦ Δα(υὶ)δ … : M.748

Εἰ καὶ μὴ τῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι πόλεως … : M.652

Εἰς τὴν Χ(ριστο)ῦ Γέννησιν – φύλλα δ᾽: M.656

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος … : M.748

//ένὸ(ς) λεγομέν(ων), εἰ τὸ μᾶλλ(ον) ὑπάρχ(ειν) δοκοῦν … M.758

Ἐν τῇ σημειώσει περὶ σφικῶν (sic) καὶ μελισσῶν οὐδένα διορίσαμεν … : M.652

Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι … : M.748

//καὶ κοιλίαν καὶ ἔμμηνα κινεῖ καὶ οἰδήματα καταπλασθεῖσα πραῦνει … : M.652

<καὶ ὑβρισθήσεται καὶ ἐμπτυσθή>σεται καὶ <μασ>τιγώσαν<τε>ς ἀποκτεν<οῦσι>ν αὐτόν … : M.664A(4)

Κανὼν πρῶτος ἐνὸ (sic; should be ἐν ᾧ) οἱ τέσσαρ(ες), Ματθαῖος Μάρκος Λουκᾶς Ἰωάννης … : M.748

Κυ(ριακῇ) θ᾽ Μ(ατ)θ(αῖος) ρμη᾽. Ἠνάγκασεν τ(έλος) Γεννησαρέτ: M.748

Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη … : M.656

Νίκανδρος ὁ ποιητὴς ἔγραψεν ποιήματα δύο … : M.652

//οἷ(ον) πύρινος, λίθινος, δρύινος … : M.745

Πε(ρὶ) νεκταρίτου: M.652

Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ θ(εὸ)ς λαλήσας … : M.714

Πρὸς πάντα θανάσιμα καὶ θηρία … : M.652

<συνε>//χόντων τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν ὑμετέραν φθεγξώμεθα … : M655

Σωματικαῖς μορφώσεσι … : M.656

Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας … : M.714

Τέσσαρά ἐστιν τὰ εὐαγγέλια τῶν ἀριθμῶν οὔτε πλείωνα οὔτε ἐλάττονα … : M.748

<τετρακισχίλι>//οι ἄνδρες χωρὶς γυναικῶ(ν) καὶ παιδίων … : M.874

Τοῖς οὖν κανθαρίδας προσενεγκαμένοις … : M.652

(Τ)ὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰοβόλων ζώων καὶ θανασίμων φαρμάκων λόγον προτιθέμεθα … : M.652

Τοῦ λίνου πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξέλκονται ἀγρευθέντες. … : M.652

Τοὺς δὲ πυρέσσοντες τὸ χαμαίμηλον θεραπεύει … : M.652

< … > τῶν μάγων πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσὴφ … : M.748